The Economic and Social Implications of the Growing Latino Population in South Carolina

A Study for the
South Carolina Commission for Minority Affairs

prepared by
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Executive Summary

One of the most visible trends in South Carolina during the early 21st century is the rapid growth of the Latino population. In fact, the U.S. Bureau of the Census reports that South Carolina's foreign-born population grew more rapidly between 2000 and 2005 than did that of any other state in the United States. Most of the Palmetto state's foreign-born are Latinos.*

Latinos reside, work, shop, and worship in communities across the state, and add a new dimension to South Carolina's demographic, social/cultural, and economic profile. Many Latinos are recent immigrants, predominantly from Mexico and Central America. South Carolina's Latinos include both authorized and unauthorized residents. As the recent national debate over immigration indicates, the public wants to know more about the current and longer term implications of the growing Latino presence.

The rising Latino population raises questions about population trends, housing, education, health care, social services, and economic development at the state and local levels. This study addresses these issues in South Carolina and presents new evidence on the role that Latinos play in the state. The aim is to provide a better understanding of this mostly (but not entirely) low-income population to inform state policy makers as they respond to unique challenges.

The information compiled for the study comes from published and unpublished U.S. Census data (including the American Community Survey) and a special 2006-07 survey of documented and undocumented Latinos in South Carolina undertaken by University of South Carolina researchers (USC Survey). In all, 503 Latinos living in 23 South Carolina counties responded to the detailed questionnaire, a copy of which can be found in Appendix I. Administered anonymously to representatives of all major Latino groups, the survey's uniform set of questions were asked in Spanish by a team of students and associates of the University of South Carolina.

Since most Latinos in the state (and in the United States) are of Mexican origin, the majority of the respondents in this study were of Mexican origin. Most Mexican immigrants were surveyed when the Mexican Consulate for the Carolinas, based in Raleigh, North Carolina, came to various parts of South Carolina to hold *consulados moviles* (mobile consulates). These events draw thousands of Mexican immigrants from across the region, who visit the mobile consulates to secure documents, including passports, birth certificates, and identification cards, among others. Given that the U.S. Census undercount of Latinos is most likely greater for Mexicans, Central Americans, and Colombians, a special effort was made to sample these populations in the 2006-2007 USC survey.

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* "Latinos" include those of Latin American origin, while "Hispanics" include all those with origins in Spanish-speaking countries, including Spain. This report generally focuses on the state's Latino population, but some data (especially Census data and some other public records) classify this population group as "Hispanic."

The study shows that South Carolina's Latino community, although growing rapidly, still represents a relatively small share of the total population. The latest official tally puts the Hispanic or Latino share of South Carolina at just 3.3 percent. This is a diverse population and hard to stereotype, but this study uncovers some distinct characteristics: South Carolina's Latino population includes more males than does the population at large; many have arrived in the state within the past five years and are relatively young—largely working age. Looking at the working Latino population in depth, this study reveals that many new Latino workers add to South Carolina's low-skill labor force. Accordingly, the state and local governments, along with school districts, will have to find ways to accommodate this growing low-income population. In the rest of this executive summary, we present the major findings in more detail.

Highlights of the Study

Characteristics of the South Carolina Latino Population

According to U.S. Census data, the majority of South Carolina's Latinos are of Mexican origin (62 percent). The population originating from all other Central American countries accounts for 11 percent of the total Latino population, while those of South American origin comprise 7 percent. Ten percent of the Latino population is of Puerto Rican origin. Males comprise 56 percent of the total Latino population in the state, according to the 2005 American Community Survey. In the 2006-2007 USC survey, 65 percent of the respondents were male.

The USC survey found that the average length of time Latinos have been in the United States is 7.9 years, while their average stay in South Carolina has been 4.8 years. The relatively short duration suggests that most of South Carolina's Latino population is still in a pattern of early settlement. The recent arrivals have been attracted to the Southeast by employment opportunities and social networks.

Unlike the state's overall population, many Latinos live in temporary situations as they work and settle into communities. A majority of survey respondents (68 percent) reported living with non-immediate family members. Many (41 percent) said they shared a residence with a roommate, acquaintance, or friend, while others (27 percent) reported living with extended family members or in-laws. The household size averaged 5.1 persons in the USC survey. Sixty percent of these respondents live in mobile homes (35 percent) or apartments (25 percent), often resulting in overcrowding. Based on the experiences of states with a longer history of Latino immigration, over time South Carolina's Latino immigrant population will likely include more families with children. At the same time, some Latinos, especially male workers, will likely return to their home countries.

Lack of English language skills is a challenge many Latinos face in the settlement process. The U.S. Census reports that 37 percent of all South Carolina Latinos do not speak English well or do not speak the language at all. Over half of the USC survey respondents (age 16 and over) reported that they spoke no English or only a few words of English, and another 25 percent described their English skills as poor. That means that over three-quarters of those surveyed (age 16 and over) do not speak English well, which is understandable given the relatively short time most Latino immigrants have been in the state. English language abilities of the subjects' children proved far better, however: 78 percent of USC Survey subjects described their children's English speaking abilities as "good" or "excellent."

Implications for the Educational System

A commonly voiced concern about the growing Latino population is related to potential stress on the state's educational system. According to recent data (2006), only 3.7 percent of all South Carolina public school students were identified as Hispanic. Note that this figure is slightly above the total Hispanic share of South Carolina's population in 2005, according to the American Community Survey. Reflecting the relatively young age of the state's Latino population, most Latino youth are enrolled in kindergarten and the lower elementary grades in South Carolina public schools. The largest enrollments of Latinos can be found in Greenville County, followed by Beaufort, Spartanburg, Horry, Lexington, Charleston, Richland, Berkeley, and York counties.

Some South Carolinians fear that Latino students increase education costs because they lack English language skills. While such costs have increased somewhat, this report demonstrates that English Language Learners (ELL) represent only 2 percent of the total public school population, and 62 percent of the total Latino student population, indicating that almost 40 percent of Latino students are fluent in English and fully integrated in "mainstream" classrooms. Additionally, we must recognize that these students bring other benefits to the state: because of these students' Spanish-language skills, the South Carolina public school system has an opportunity to graduate an increasing number of fluent bilingual and multilingual speakers in the years ahead, particularly if Spanish-speaking students have opportunities to develop literacy proficiency in their native language.

In South Carolina and the nation as a whole, among educators' concerns regarding Latino students is their relative low graduation rate: South Carolina's Latino graduation rates fall in line with those of other minority groups. According to the latest data, Latino students graduated at a rate of 68 percent, close to that of African-American students.

Implications for the Health Care System

Many health care providers in South Carolina have seen a large increase in the number of Latinos seeking medical care. This has posed a particular challenge because, as has been stated, many Latinos have limited English language skills. It appears, however, that Latinos are generally in good health. Most of the USC survey respondents (84 percent) reported that their health status was good or very good, and about 70 percent said that their health has not changed since they arrived in the United States. Fifty-seven percent of the respondents to the USC survey reported that they had sought medical care for themselves or a member(s) of their family during the previous year, and the most commonly cited reason for accessing medical care was for their children's check-ups and vaccines. About 17 percent of the doctor's visits were related to respiratory conditions, namely, flu, colds, allergies, and asthma. Approximately 14 percent of the health care visits were related to delivering babies. Still, the USC survey data demonstrate that almost half of Latinos in South Carolina are not seeking medical treatment, either because they lack health insurance (roughly 74 percent fall into that category) or they see no need (most respondents rated their health status as "good" or "very good").

Therefore, despite an increasing Latino presence in health care facilities, Latinos do not appear to be overwhelming the system. For example, in 2005 Latinos made up only 1.6 percent of all the hospital discharges (inpatient, outpatient, and/or emergency room visits). In comparison, 33.6 percent of all discharges were African-Americans, and 64.8 percent were Whites. Further, only 1.3 percent of all

Latinos who had been hospitalized for any reason were classified as "indigent," and only 0.6 percent of Latinos who had emergency room care were classified as "indigent."

Implications for Employee Benefits

This study analyzed the benefits status of Latinos. National and state data show the disparity between private group insurance benefits for service and other non-service jobs. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce indicates that while 49 percent of employees on average receive group life insurance, on average, only 24 percent of employees in "service occupations" receive group life insurance. Similarly, while an average of 53 percent of all U.S. workers have group medical insurance, only about 27 percent of employees in service occupations receive group medical insurance. The USC Survey data for S.C. Latinos are consistent with such findings: of Latino respondents asked whether their employer offered health insurance, only 46.8 percent responded "yes." Of those offered coverage, only 58.3 percent chose to take the group insurance.

Overall, the USC Survey indicates that employers are more likely to offer health benefits than other benefits (46 percent compared with 29 percent), but when offered benefits the Latino employees are more likely to take other benefits than they are to take health benefits (65 percent compared with 58 percent). Since the primary reason given, in the USC Survey, for declining any type of benefit coverage is reported as "economic impossibility," this result is not surprising: group medical insurance is by far the most costly employee benefit, so even if offered, it is harder to accept given the cost to the worker.

Implications for the Economy

The impact of the Latino population on wages and employment is given special attention in this study. South Carolina is a state with relatively low per capita income and a large, low-wage labor force with limited educational attainment. The study made a special effort to uncover significant employment and wage trends in the South Carolina Latino labor market.

The study shows that much of the Latino working population has limited education and thus is likely to work in low-skill occupations. In fact, according to the USC survey, only 16 percent of Latinos had completed high school, and a large part of the male working population has little formal education: 39 percent of Latino males age 25 and older had attended school less than nine years. Just 16 percent of Latino males had some college. The American Community Survey shows that 25 percent of all Latino males over 25 years of age have less than a ninth-grade education.

This report reviews the national evidence on wage and employment related to an increasing Latino population. Some prominent economic studies find a negative impact on wages for native-born, low-skilled workers when low-skilled immigrants are added to the labor force. Accordingly, this study examined wage trends from 2000-2005 in South Carolina.

Normally, we would expect higher earnings along with economic prosperity, but real (or inflation-adjusted) median earnings for many full-time workers declined in South Carolina in recent years. Overall, median wages fell by 3.1 percent between 2000 and 2005. According to U.S Census data, the median wage only exhibits positive growth for White South

Carolina workers from 2000 to 2005—at 1.2 percent. For Black South Carolinians, the inflation-adjusted earnings of full-time workers fell by one percent. For Hispanics (U.S. Census definition), real median earnings declined by much more: 9.6 percent.

At the same time that more Latinos are entering South Carolina's work force, median wages for those at the low-skill end of the spectrum are dropping. According to the USC survey, the median annual earnings for Latinos was $20,400, far below the median earnings for South Carolinians in general. The effects of a larger Latino work force are most evident in specific industries. Construction appears to be the predominant economic activity drawing Latinos to South Carolina: this industry accounts for approximately 38 percent of Latino employment in the USC survey. The survey also found that the median annual wage for Latinos working in construction is $21,840.

According to U.S. Census data, among construction workers real median earnings for Latinos dropped approximately 12 percent from 2000 to 2005, even as the number of construction workers expanded 181 percent. Black construction labor saw inflation-adjusted earnings fall two percent. It is also surprising to find that total Black employment dropped by 24 percent during the construction boom. Meanwhile, employment among White construction workers grew four percent, but their median earnings fell by more than that of Black construction workers.

After construction, the U.S. Census records the greatest numbers of Hispanics working in Animal Slaughtering. For this industry (which includes poultry processing), Hispanic employment increased by 12.6 percent while real annual median earnings for full-time workers declined almost 19 percent. By 2005, meanwhile, Black workers saw jobs dramatically drop 43.4 percent when compared with 1999. In this case, however, the median earnings for the remaining Black workers retained in the Animal Slaughtering industry rose about 15 percent. Thus, it could be said that the lack of employment opportunities, not falling wages, has been the trend in this sector. One could speculate that Black workers who remained in Animal Slaughtering were more highly skilled, while low-skill work went to Latino labor. In the 2006-2007 South Carolina Latino survey, food processing workers (including poultry slaughtering, vegetable packing, and meat packing) had a median wage of $15,600.

The U.S. Census data reveal that the third largest sector employing Latinos is Landscaping Services. The USC survey found that the median wage for that sector is $17,750. In this case, a different picture emerges. Many Hispanics found full-time jobs between 2000 and 2005 in Landscaping Services (with a 67 percent increase in the number working in that sector), although, again, real median earnings fell by 14 percent. For Blacks, Landscaping Service employment grew over the period (unlike the other two sectors), but real earnings fell approximately 10 percent. For Whites working in landscaping, employment and earnings declined by 1.5 percent and 5.3 percent, respectively.

Overall, for each of the three largest sectors with a Latino work force in South Carolina, African-Americans either lost jobs, saw earnings decline, or both (as was the case in the construction sector).

It is also worth noting that there are large sectors of the South Carolina economy where one does not see a large or growing Latino work force. A case in point is the automotive sector (Motor Vehicle and Motor Vehicle Equipment). This manufacturing backbone of the South Carolina economy witnessed a 63 percent increase in Black full-time employment between 2000 and 2005. Blacks also

witnessed a 37 percent jump in real earnings, and Whites did well in the sector, both in earnings and employment growth. However, for Latinos, employment and median earnings fell from 2000 to 2005.

Next, this study of economic characteristics among Latinos turns to poverty and use of social services. Since Latinos have seen median earnings fall from 2000 to 2005 as the population has grown, we would expect that poverty status may have risen. In fact, for the Latino population as a whole, the poverty rate edged up slightly to 25.7 percent. Alternative data from the American Community Survey show the Hispanic poverty rate higher—at 29 percent. At the same time, Black poverty levels in South Carolina fell to 25.1 percent in 2005, making poverty rates almost identical for Blacks and Hispanics in the state. Whites, on the other hand, exhibit a much smaller poverty rate: 9.3 percent.

Despite the large percentage of Latinos in the state living below the poverty line, their use of social services in the state is minimal. According to Census data, only 8 percent of Hispanics in the state received food stamps in 2005, compared with 23 percent of Blacks and 5 percent of the state's White population. The state Department of Social Services (DSS) reported that Hispanics (state definition) represented 2.3 percent of food stamp recipients in early 2007, while Blacks represented 62.6 percent of recipients and Whites 34.5 percent. Other than public education, the only state service for which unauthorized immigrants are eligible is DSS's Women, Infants, and Children's Program (WIC). DSS reports that, while 48 percent of WIC recipients in 2006 were African-American and 39 percent were White, Hispanics comprised 12 percent.

In sum, the economic effects of the Latino presence in the state are mixed. Wage depression may be occurring in some sectors. At the same time, for native Black workers, just as for native White workers, one could conclude that the strong, growing economy in South Carolina could absorb new entrants from Latin America and also provide opportunities for the native work force. This can be seen in the automotive sector, which, more than any other, has helped elevate Black workers into the middle-class in South Carolina in the recent period.

To date, most evidence shows that Latinos do not place a high burden on state and local social services. Given the still small (but rapidly growing) Latino presence in South Carolina, education and health care costs are small as well. Nevertheless, it is imperative that we learn more about this population if we are to assess the full costs and benefits to state and local governments.

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Chapter 1. Demographic Profile of Latinos in South Carolina

Background

According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, South Carolina led the nation in the growth of its foreign-born population between 2000 and 2005 (with a 47 percent increase). Hispanics/Latinos comprise a sizeable portion of the foreign-born in the state. In general, the South has witnessed a tremendous growth in Latino immigrants: the Latino populations of Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee grew an average 447 percent between 1990 and 2005. In South Carolina, Latino numbers increased by 350 percent during that same period, or from roughly 30,000 to 135,000, while growing by only 87 percent in the nation as a whole (from 22,354,059 to 41,870,703). The Census Bureau reports that 62.2 percent of Latinos in South Carolina are of Mexican origin, compared with 63 percent for the nation as a whole (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, American Community Survey 2005).

The actual number of Latinos in South Carolina could be at least twice that reported by the Census Bureau. The census undercount of Latinos in the United States is widely recognized. Latino immigrants' complex household composition and cultural differences in "household" definitions, their immigrant status (authorized or unauthorized), individual and family mobility, language barriers, and/or fear or distrust of government agencies are the most commonly cited reasons for the undercount (Davis 1992; Edmonston 2002; Romero 1992; McLean and Newton 2001). Regardless of the actual numbers, Latinos are considered an official minority in South Carolina.

A number of factors explain the growth of Latino immigration to the state and region since the 1990s. While studies have shown that labor markets in the United States drive most immigration (Kochhar 2005b), "push" factors in Latin America such as the search for better lives also contribute to migration. For example, economic crises in Mexico have led to unemployment, low wages, and job insecurity in that country since the 1980s (Canales 2003). Further, Mexico's population growth (from 68 million in 1980 to over 107 million in 2006) contributes to both unemployment and underemployment. At least a quarter of Mexico's workers participate in the informal economy, and, in recent years, roughly 400,000 a year have emigrated to the United States to find work (McKinley, Betancourt, and Malkin 2006). Many new arrivals to South Carolina from Mexico have been pushed by deteriorating regional economies in states including Veracruz, Chiapas, Puebla, Guerrero, and Hidalgo (Lacy 2007). Economic and political problems in Central America and some South American countries also have driven migrants to the United States. Plentiful jobs, the relatively low cost of living, and social networks lead many of them to the South.

The influx of Latino migrants and immigrants to the Southeast also can be traced to the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), which, as one migration scholar put it, "powerfully restructured Hispanic migration to the

United States, eventually turning the American South into a new immigration destination" (Mohl 2003; Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002). Construction jobs for the Atlanta Olympic Games in the mid-1990s brought thousands of Latino workers to the area, many of whom remained in the region to take jobs in construction, agriculture, food processing, and other industries.

IRCA also modified the H-2A guest worker program, initially instituted in 1952. The program, which allows foreign workers to enter the United States on a temporary basis to fill seasonal farm jobs, had brought some foreign workers to East Coast farms that grow labor-intensive crops at a time when many said they could not find enough local labor. While increased numbers of H-2A guest workers entered the neighboring states of Georgia and North Carolina as result of IRCA's expansion of the program, South Carolina received relatively few H-2A workers as result of the new legislation (Levine 2005).

The South's dynamic economic growth in the 1990s also acted as an important factor in drawing migrants and new immigrants to the region. Further, social networks—those informal connections between family and friends on both sides of the border—have resulted in a flood of new immigrants to the Southeast. As migrants found work, word spread to friends and family in the country of origin, and, in some cases, almost entire communities in rural Mexico relocated to the region (Lacy 2005, 2007).

However, many of South Carolina's Latino residents are not recent immigrants; some were born in the United States, and others come from Puerto Rico and are, therefore, U.S. citizens. The state's Latino population exhibits tremendous diversity. South Carolina's Latinos include members of the upper, middle, and working class whose heritage may be Caribbean, South American, Central American, or Mexican. They include lawyers, doctors, teachers, other professionals, people with advanced degrees, military personnel, farm workers, construction workers, and recent immigrants who wish to stay in South Carolina only a few years.

This report offers a social and economic profile of the Latino population in South Carolina in 2007 and assesses the implications of this growing population on the state. The report also offers policy recommendations as South Carolina residents adjust to the rapidly changing demographics in the state. It represents the work of an interdisciplinary team of USC researchers and includes contextual infor-

Table 1. Hispanic or Latino Population by County of Residence
USC Survey (n=503)

County	Number	*% of Total*
Greenville	121	*24.54*
Charleston	84	*17.04*
Lexington	69	*14.00*
Richland	58	*11.76*
York	43	*8.72*
Aiken	22	*4.46*
Berkeley	22	*4.46*
Newberry	11	*2.23*
Saluda	10	*2.03*
Spartanburg	9	*1.83*
Georgetown	9	*1.83*
Horry	6	*1.22*
Oconee	6	*1.22*
Dorchester	5	*1.01*
Greenwood	5	*1.01*
Anderson	3	*0.61*
Barnwell	2	*0.41*
Pickens	2	*0.41*
Colleton	2	*0.41*
Marion	1	*0.20*
Sumter	1	*0.20*
Edgefield	1	*0.20*
Lancaster	1	*0.20*
Missing	10	-

mation from secondary sources, census data analysis, data from state agencies, and findings of the 2006-2007 Survey of South Carolina Latinos by the University of South Carolina (hereinafter referred to as the "USC Survey"). Most of the Census data are taken from the 2005 American Community Survey (the latest available Census data as of July 2007). The research team also utilized data collected from the State Department of Education, the S.C. Budget and Control Board, the S.C. Department of Health and Environmental Control, and the S.C. Department of Social Services.

What sets this report apart from most public policy reports on Latino immigrants, however, is the 2006-2007 University of South Carolina survey (USC survey)—a compilation of data collected from 503 face-to-face surveys of Latino immigrants from 23 counties around the state. Subjects were selected based on Census profiles of South Carolina's immigrant pool: roughly 66 percent were of Mexican origin, 23 percent were of Central America and Caribbean origin, and 11 percent of South American origin. Further, most subjects hailed from counties where most Latinos reside, according to Census data. It should be noted, however, that given budgetary and time constraints, the survey locations do not exactly mirror Census data on location of the state's Latino population.

The majority of the Mexican-origin subjects were selected during the *Consulados Moviles* (Mobile Consulates), when the Mexican Consulate in Raleigh, N.C., which represents the Carolinas, offers an opportunity for Mexican-born persons to obtain passports, identification cards, and other documents at various locations across South Carolina. We appreciate the Mexican Consul General's permission to engage in research during these visits to South Carolina. We selected other Latino survey subjects using the snowball method of sampling. All surveys were conducted in Spanish using pre-tested survey forms devised by the research team.*

Data on enrollment in public schools provided in this report were taken largely from the State Department of Education (SDE). The SDE collects individual student data, including ethnic identity, at the school level at the time that families enroll their children in school. All schools use the School Administrative Student Information (SASI®) commercial system, which was installed for use in the 2003-2004 academic year. In general, this report uses data on Latinos (usually referred to as Hispanics by the SDE) collected after 2004, largely because the SDE considers that data to be more reliable. In addition, the study drew upon U.S. Census data as well as sources such as the Pew Hispanic Center and the Migration Policy Institute, which are non-partisan, non-profit research organizations located in Washington, D.C.

Demographics of Latinos in South Carolina

Even though the number of Latinos in South Carolina is growing at a rapid rate, U.S. Census figures indicate that Latinos constitute a relatively small proportion of the state population. Latinos comprised 2.3 percent of the population in 2000, and 3.3 percent in 2005 (see Table 2), although the actual number of Latinos in the state is likely much greater than the Census reports.

According to Census data, only 57 percent (or 77,596) of South Carolina's Latinos were born outside the United States (see Table 3). On the other hand, 97 percent of the 503 Latinos surveyed for this study were born outside the United States.

The American Community Survey (2005) reports that a majority (62.3 percent) of the

* Survey instrument is included in Appendix I.

Table 2. Population in South Carolina American Community Survey, 2005

	Number	*% of Total*
Total Population	4,113,961	*100.00*
Hispanic or Latino	135,041	*3.28*
Foreign-born	77,596	*57.46*
Non-Hispanic	3,978,920	*96.72*
White alone	2,704,013	*67.96*
Blacks alone	1,170,710	*29.42*
American Indian/Alaska Native	13,736	*0.35*
Asian alone	44,161	*1.11*
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	1,210	*0.03*
Some other race alone	5,409	*0.14*
Two or more races	39,681	*1.00*

Source: American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved 2007 (http://www.census.gov/acs/www/).

state's Latinos are of Mexican origin, followed in size by the Puerto Rican population (10.3 percent). If Latinos of Central American origins are aggregated, their numbers comprise 10.8 percent of the total Latino population, and those of South American origin compose 38 percent of the latter group (see Table 4). Among the foreign-born, 90 percent are non-U.S. citizens (Table 3). This is quite common for most recent immigrants, and Latinos in South Carolina constitute a very recent migration stream.

In an effort to represent South Carolina's Latino population as accurately as possible, we selected Latino subjects for our surveys based on Census proportions of country of origin, but made the assumption, based on research elsewhere, that the greatest census undercount is likely among the Mexican, Central American, and Colombian populations in the state (Clark and Anderson 2000; Passel 2006). Therefore, the USC survey subjects' countries of origin follow in Table 5.

The average length of time Latinos in our study have been in the United States is 7.9 years, and their average stay in South Carolina is 4.8 years. The American Community Survey data also reveal a surge in Latino immigration in recent years: over half (54.4 percent) of foreign-born Latinos have arrived in South Carolina since 2000. The relatively short duration of their residency in the United States and the fact that they are settling in a state without a long-standing, multi-generational Latino population (like that of traditional settlement areas such as Texas and California) suggest that these new immigrants face significant challenges, especially in terms of settlement and social and cultural integration.

Table 3. Citizenship Status for Latinos in South Carolina, by Sex and Age American Community Survey, 2005

Citizenship status	Male under 18	Male over 18	Male Total	Female under 18	Female over 18	Female Total	Total Population
Native	15,695	12,271	27,966	16,967	12,512	29,479	57,445
% of column total	*71.0*	*23.0*	*37.0*	*78.0*	*33.0*	*50.0*	*43.0*
Foreign born (FB)	6,430	41,133	47,563	4,710	25,323	30,033	77,596
Foreign born, U.S. citizen	337	3767	4104	235	3760	3995	8099
Foreign born, not citizen	6,093	37,366	43,459	4,475	21,563	26,038	69,497
% not citizens of FB	*95.0*	*91.0*	*91.0*	*95.0*	*85.0*	*87.0*	*90.0*
Column Total	22,125	53,404	75,529	21,677	37,835	59,512	135,041

Source: American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved 2007 (http://www.census.gov/acs/www/).

Table 4. Hispanic or Latino Population by Origin
American Community Survey, 2005

Origin	Number	*Percent*
Hispanic or Latino	135,041	*100.00*
Mexican	84,059	*62.25*
Puerto Rican	13,905	*10.30*
Cuban	2,018	*1.49*
Dominican	1,227	*0.91*
Central American	14,528	*10.76*
Costa Rican	2,084	*1.54*
Guatemalan	3,745	*2.77*
Honduran	4,528	*3.35*
Nicaraguan	197	*0.15*
Panamanian	2,076	*1.54*
Salvadoran	1,532	*1.13*
Other	366	*0.27*
South American	9,743	*7.21*
Argentinean	1,279	*0.95*
Bolivian	423	*0.31*
Chilean	172	*0.13*
Colombian	3,698	*2.74*
Ecuadorian	816	*0.60*
Paraguayan	50	*0.04*
Peruvian	1,667	*1.23*
Uruguayan	171	*0.13*
Venezuelan	1,340	*0.99*
Other	127	*0.09*
Other Hispanic or Latino	9,561	*7.08*

Source: American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved 2007 (http://www.census.gov/acs/www/).

Males comprise 56 percent of the total Latino population in the state, according to the 2005 American Community Survey. The ratio of Latino females-to-males has increased since the 1990s, likely because more Latina women have migrated to the United States in recent years and because more families are joining spouses in the United States as result of increasing social and economic costs associated with migration (Strum and Tarantolo 2002; Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Lacy 2007). In the USC survey, 65 percent of subjects were male.

Table 5. Hispanic or Latino Population by Country of Birth
USC Survey (n=503)

Origin	Number	*Percent*
Hispanic or Latino	503	*100.0*
Mexico	333	*66.2*
Puerto Rico	31	*6.2*
Cuba	11	*2.2*
Dominican Rep	1	*0.2*
Central American	67	*13.2*
Costa Rica	1	*0.2*
Guatemala	45	*9.0*
Honduras	12	*2.4*
Panama	4	*0.2*
El Salvador	7	*1.4*
South America	54	*10.8*
Colombia	46	*9.2*
Peru	4	*0.8*
Ecuador	2	*0.4*
Venezuela	2	*0.4*
U.S. Born	3	*0.6*

As has been discussed in the literature, the Latino population in the United States and in South Carolina is relatively young (Kochhar, Suro, and Tafoya 2005; Lacy, 2007). The American Community Survey (2005) reports the median age for all Latino males as 26.4 and the median age for females as 26.1 (Table 6). Of Latino males enumerated by the 2005 American Community Survey, 29.3 percent are under 18 years of age. Of females, 36.4 percent are under 18.

Marital Status

Among Latinos based on marital status, gender differences between the American Community Survey and the USC Survey exist, but the overall patterns are very similar. The American Community Survey reports that the majority of males (56 percent) and females (57 percent) are married, but some spouses, especially wives, have remained in the countries

Table 6. Sex by Age
Hispanic or Latino Population
American Community Survey, 2005

Population	Number	*Percent*
Total	135,041	--
Male	75,529	*100.00*
Under 5 years	7,617	*10.08*
5 to 9 years	6,874	*9.10*
10 to 14 years	5,207	*6.89*
15 to 17 years	2,427	*3.21*
18 and 19 years	2,568	*3.40*
20 to 24 years	9,889	*13.09*
25 to 29 years	9,195	*12.17*
30 to 34 years	9,065	*12.00*
35 to 44 years	13,916	*18.42*
45 to 54 years	5,013	*6.64*
55 to 64 years	2,443	*3.23*
65 to 74 years	733	*0.97*
75 to 84 years	513	*0.68*
85 years and over	69	*0.09*
Female	59,512	*100.00*
Under 5 years	8,020	*13.48*
5 to 9 years	5,114	*8.59*
10 to 14 years	5,408	*9.09*
15 to 17 years	3,135	*5.27*
18 and 19 years	1,415	*2.38*
20 to 24 years	5,346	*8.98*
25 to 29 years	6,109	*10.27*
30 to 34 years	6,681	*11.23*
35 to 44 years	9,831	*16.52*
45 to 54 years	4,059	*6.82*
55 to 64 years	2,230	*3.75*
65 to 74 years	805	*1.35*
75 to 84 years	999	*1.68*
85 years and over	360	*0.60*

Source: American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved 2007 (http://www.census.gov/acs/www/).

of origin or live elsewhere. Fifty-three percent of males and 56 percent of females in the USC survey were married. The divorce rate among Latinos in South Carolina is much lower than that of the non-Hispanic White population. While 11 percent of White females and 10 percent of White males are divorced (American Community Survey 2005), only 5 percent of Latina females and 4 percent of Latino males are divorced. Two percent of Latino males and 8 percent of Latina females in the USC Study were divorced.

An indication of the rise in the number of Latino families and the greater presence of Latina women in South Carolina is the growing number of births to Latina women in the state. The S.C. Department of Health and Environmental Control (DHEC) reports that births to Latina women increased by 656 percent between 1990 and 2004 (from 573 births per year to 4,332). A policy concern in South Carolina and across the United States is the rate of births to unwed mothers. As Table 7 illustrates, in absolute numbers, the births to unwed Latinas between the ages of 15 and 50 in South Carolina were far below those of non-Hispanic Whites and Blacks in 2004 (latest available data): the number for Latinas was less than 2,000; for White unwed mothers, it was almost 13,000; and, for black or African-American unwed mothers, it stood at about 6,800. However, the relative percentage of births to unwed Latinas is higher than that of Whites but lower than the African-American rate: while the non-Hispanic White unwed mothers who gave a birth in 2004 make up 20 percent of all White mothers, the Latinas who fall in the same category make up to 51 percent of all Latina mothers. Still, the rate is lower than the Black or African-American rate: 66 percent, that is, two-thirds of all black mothers in 2004 gave birth out of wedlock.

Table 7. Women, 15-50 Years, Who Had a Birth in the Past 12 Months
American Community Survey, 2005

Population		Total	Women who had a birth in the past 12 months			Women who did not have a birth in the past 12 months		
			Total	Now married (including separated and spouse absent)	Unmarried (never married, widowed and divorced)	Total	Now married (including separated and spouse absent)	Unmarried (never married, widowed and divorced)
Latinas	Number	35,795	3,822	1,854	1,968	31,973	20,388	11,585
	Percent	*100*	*10.68*	--	--	*89.32*	--	--
Blacks	Number	333,711	19,533	6,670	12,863	314,178	109,494	204,684
	Percent	*100*	*5.85*	--	--	*94.15*	--	--
Whites	Number	662,993	33,958	27,159	6,799	629,035	369,039	259,996
	Percent	*100*	*5.12*	--	--	*94.88*	--	--

Source: American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved 2007 (http://www.census.gov/acs/www/).

Educational Attainment

The American Community Survey reports that 25 percent of all Latino males over 25 years of age in South Carolina have less than a ninth-grade education (Table 8). Among White males of the same age, only about 5 percent have less than 9 years of education, and among blacks a little over 9 percent have less than 9 years. At the same time, 29 percent of all Latinos over 25 have obtained a high school diploma, and another 30 percent have achieved an educational attainment of some college or above. Latina women are better educated than are men: data show that over 36 percent of women age 25 and older have at least some college education, whereas the same percentage among men is about 24.

Table 8. Educational Attainment by Sex
Hispanic or Latinos, 25 years and over (South Carolina)
American Community Survey, 2005

Educational Attainment by Sex	Number	*Percent*
Total population	72,021	*100.00*
Less than 9th grade	18,496	*25.68*
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	11,574	*16.07*
High school graduate (includes equivalency)	20,656	*28.68*
Some college, no degree	10,743	*14.92*
Associate's degree	3,092	*4.29*
Bachelor's degree	5,252	*7.29*
Graduate degree	2,208	*3.07*
Male population	40,947	*100.00*
Less than 9th grade	10,683	*26.09*
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	7,532	*18.39*
High school graduate (includes equivalency)	12,683	*30.97*
Some college, no degree	5,522	*13.49*
Associate's degree	1,655	*4.04*
Bachelor's degree	1,943	*4.75*
Graduate degree	929	*2.27*
Female population	31,074	*100.00*
Less than 9th grade	7,813	*25.14*
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	4,042	*13.01*
High school graduate (includes equivalency)	7,973	*25.66*
Some college, no degree	5,221	*16.80*
Associate's degree	1,437	*4.62*
Bachelor's degree	3,309	*10.65*
Graduate degree	1,279	*4.12*

Source: American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved 2007 (http://www.census.gov/acs/www/).

The Latina women in the USC study population also had more years of education than did men. The average educational level among females was almost 11 years, but was 9 years for males. Thirty-nine percent of Latino males age 25 and older in the USC survey had less than 9 years of education, while 28.5 percent of Latina females 25 and older had less than 9 years. The percentages of males and females who had completed high school was roughly the same, 16 percent, but while 16 percent of Latino males had at least some college, 38.5 percent of females 25 and older had attended at least some college.

Table 9. Language Spoken at Home Hispanic or Latino Population 5 years and Over American Community Survey, 2005

Population	Number	*Percent*
Total:	119,404	--
Speak only English	24,340	*100.00*
Speak Spanish:	94,279	*100.00*
Speak English "very well"	31,974	*33.92*
Speak English "well"	18,426	*19.54*
Speak English "not well"	25,969	*27.54*
Speak English "not at all"	17,910	*19.00*
Speak other language	785	*100.00*

Source: American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved 2007 (http://www.census.gov/acs/www/).

Settlement Issues: Language and Housing

Language

Many within the relatively new Latino immigrant population in South Carolina, like immigrants before them, remain marginalized from the larger society in a variety of ways. Lack of English language skills is one of the factors in marginalization for many Latino immigrants. Acquisition of English has been shown to improve immigrants' rate of acculturation and incorporation, as well as their economic standing (Alba 1999; Alba et al. 2002).

American Community Survey data state that almost 80 percent of South Carolina's Latinos 5 years of age and older speak Spanish at home (Table 9). At the same time, 34 percent of those Latinos report that they speak English "very well", and an additional 20 percent speak English "well." This means that together with the Latinos who speak English at home, almost two-thirds (63 percent) of all South Carolina's Latinos do not have serious problems with the English language. Still, the Census reports that more than a third of all Latinos, or 37 percent, say they do not speak the language well or that they do not speak English at all. †

On the other hand, the Census is likely not counting many of the more recently-arrived Latino immigrants. Given their relatively short time in the United States and first-generation immigrant status, many of South Carolina's Latinos are struggling to learn the English language. Over half (51.4 percent) of the USC survey subjects (Latinos age 16 and over) reported that they spoke no English or only a few words of English. Another 25.2 percent described their English skills as "poor." That means that over three quarters of the subject population (age 16 and over) do not speak English well. English language abilities of the subjects' children proved far better, however: 78 percent of the USC survey subjects described their children's English speaking abilities as "good" or "excellent." This population will likely follow the pattern of immigrant groups across time and place: usually the sec-

† The Census defines English language ability in the following way: "The data on ability to speak English represent the person's own perception about his or her own ability or, because census questionnaires are usually completed by one household member, the responses may represent the perception of another household member." (U.S. Bureau of the Census July 2007, B-32)

ond generation becomes fluent in English, and most likely the third generation immigrant will speak only English and will not speak their grandparents' language (Veltman 1983; Stevens 1992; Alba 1999).

A number of the USC survey respondents (all of whom are first-generation immigrants) are attempting to learn English: over one-third said they are making a sustained effort to learn the language. Eighty-four percent of that group are taking or have taken formal English language classes, and the remainder is relying on self-study programs such as audio tapes. Other studies have demonstrated that a shortage of English language classes, long work hours, and/or lack of transportation prevents many Latino immigrants from pursuing the formal study of English (Lacy 2007). Some researchers believe that English-language acquisition is easier today than it was for earlier immigrants to the United States, largely because immigrants and their children are not as physically isolated from American culture (Alba 1999).

Housing

Latino immigrants experience marginalization because of their housing conditions. The lack of affordable housing stock in South Carolina means that many Latinos, especially recent working-class immigrants, live in less-than-desirable housing conditions, and, for many, low income means that they often share the costs of housing, leading at times to overcrowding.

The American Community Survey reports that almost 30 percent of Latinos live in mobile homes, a finding similar to the USC survey results (which reveal that 35 percent occupy mobile homes). As Table 10 demonstrates, the percentage of Latinos living in mobile homes is almost twice as large as the percentage of Whites, and still larger compared with the percentage of African-Americans. Table 10 also reveals that roughly 40 percent of Latinos live in detached, single-family housing. Again, this mirrors the USC survey findings: 39.9 percent of subjects live in single-family housing.

Table 10. Units in Structure, Occupied Housing Units, Householder Who is Hispanic or Latino, Black or White American Community Survey, 2005

Units	Latinos		Blacks		Whites	
	Number	*Percent*	Number	*Percent*	Number	*Percent*
Total:	38,694	*100.00*	439,937	*100.00*	1,146,934	*100.00*
1, detached	14,732	*38.07*	243,086	*55.25*	785,977	*68.53*
1, attached	1,481	*3.83*	7,347	*1.67*	31,805	*2.773*
2	1,265	*3.27*	15,952	*3.626*	18,047	*1.573*
3 or 4	2,510	*6.49*	20,883	*4.747*	24,413	*2.129*
5 to 9	3,701	*9.56*	37,703	*8.57*	40,379	*3.521*
10 to 19	2,006	*5.18*	13,568	*3.084*	27,162	*2.368*
20 to 49	1,137	*2.94*	4,922	*1.119*	14,699	*1.282*
50 or more	954	*2.47*	4,645	*1.056*	13,590	*1.185*
Mobile home	10,908	*28.19*	91,139	*20.72*	190,553	*16.61*
Boat, RV, van, etc.	0	*0.00*	692	*0.157*	309	*0.027*

Source: American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved 2007 (http://www.census.gov/acs/www/).

Table 11. Tenure for Householder Who is Hispanic or Latino, White Alone or Black, Occupied Housing Units American Community Survey, 2005

Units	Latino		White		Black	
	Number	*Percent*	Number	*Percent*	Number	*Percent*
Total	38,694	*100.0*	1,146,934	*100.0*	439,937	*100.0*
Owner occupied	14,705	*38.0*	880,377	*76.8*	240,623	*54.7*
Renter occupied	23,989	*62.0*	266,557	*23.2*	199,314	*45.3*

Source: American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved 2007 (http://www.census.gov/acs/www/).

Table 12. Population in Households by Household Type American Community Survey, 2005

Population in Households	Latinos		Whites	
	Number	*Percent*	Number	*Percent*
Total:	130,801	--	2,725,647	--
In family households:	111,984	*100.00*	2,263,077	*100.00*
Married-couple family:	75,828	*67.71*	1,876,360	*82.91*
Relatives	73,395	--	1,868,175	--
Nonrelatives	2,433	--	8,185	--
Male householder, no wife present:	15,772	*14.08*	105,726	*4.67*
Relatives	12,820	--	94,846	--
Nonrelatives	2,952	--	10,880	--
Female householder, no husband present:	20,384	*18.20*	280,991	*12.42*
Relatives	17,809	--	267,403	--
Nonrelatives	2,575	--	13,588	--
In nonfamily households	18,817	*100.00*	462,570	*100.00*

Source: American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved 2007 (http://www.census.gov/acs/www/).

Census data reveal that almost 40 percent of Latinos lived in owner-occupied housing units in 2005 (Table 11), a ratio lower than that of Whites or African-Americans in the state. The USC survey data revealed that even fewer Latinos own their homes: only 24 percent of subjects live in owner-occupied housing. Again, this may reflect the fact that the Census is not counting many new arrivals, most of whom are young members of the working class.

Many Latinos live in crowded housing conditions and share housing with non-immediate family members. Census data on households reveal that Latino households include more people who are not immediate relatives than do White or African-American families. As seen in Table 12, the presence of non-family members in Latinos households is more than two times higher than that of the non-Hispanic White population.

In addition, the Latino non-family households (people who live alone or with other non-family members) also include more unrelated individuals. As seen in the following table, Latino non-family households constitute only about a quarter of all households, while non-Hispanic White non-family households constitute over a third of all households. Secondly, of Latino

Table 13. Number of Households by Household Type
American Community Survey, 2005

Households	Latinos		Whites	
	Number	*Percent*	Number	*Percent*
Total:	38,694	--	1,125,901	--
Family households:	28,761	*100.00*	750,934	*100.00*
Married-couple family	19,503	*67.81*	615,634	*81.98*
Other family:	9,258	*32.19*	135,300	*18.02*
Male householder, no wife present	3,785	--	36,628	--
Female householder, no husband present	5,473	--	98,672	--
Nonfamily households:	9,933	*100.00*	374,967	*100.00*
Householder living alone	5,858	*58.98*	310,405	*82.78*
Householder not living alone	4,075	*41.02*	64,562	*17.22*

Source: American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved 2007 (http://www.census.gov/acs/www/).

non-family households, over 40 percent do not live alone, while the respective percentage of the non-Hispanic White households is only 17 percent. This also means that nearly 30 percent of all non-Hispanic White households in South Carolina are individuals living alone. At the same time, only 15 percent of all Latino households are single individuals.

The USC survey of Latinos revealed similar findings. Over 68 percent of respondents reported living with non-immediate family members. Most of those, 41.1 percent, said they share a residence with a roommate, acquaintance or friend, and 27.3 percent reported living with extended family members or in-laws. While household size averaged 5.1 persons in the USC study, the number of persons in households ranged from one person (4.2 percent of respondents live alone) to 11 people. Sixty percent of these respondents live in mobile homes (35 percent) or apartments (25 percent), often resulting in overcrowding.

Household size did not vary significantly in different areas of South Carolina based on respondents from all 23 counties, but when the 7 counties with 22 or more respondents were analyzed, respondents from Charleston County had a statistically significant larger mean household composition (4.6 people) when compared with Aiken County (3.3 people).

In sum, despite some inconsistencies between the two sources, demographic data from the Census and the USC survey reveal that South Carolina's Latino population represents a relatively small percentage of the state's population, but it is rapidly growing. Most are males, of Mexican origin, have recently arrived, and are relatively young. Most Latinos in the state are married, and 43 percent have school-aged children living with them in South Carolina. Overall, the first-generation Latino population in the state lags in educational attainment and English language skills, but their children's English abilities, like that of many second-generation immigrants, proves far better than that of the parents. Most live in mobile homes or apartments, and a relatively large percentage share housing with non-immediate family members.

Chapter 2. Education Impact of the Latino Population in South Carolina

School Enrollment

As the Latino population in South Carolina has grown in size, the number of Latino children in South Carolina public schools has also steadily increased. It is important to note that not all students categorized as "Hispanic" are considered to be immigrants. Many families of Latino origin whose children are enrolled in the public school system have been living in the United States for multiple generations. As seen in Table 14, 18,885 Latino children attended South Carolina public schools in 2004 and 21,942 in 2005 (a 16 percent increase). In June 2006, of the 691,054 students enrolled in public schools, 26,201 were designated Hispanic.

Table 14. Enrollment of Hispanic Students by Grade in South Carolina

Grades	2004	2005	2006*	% change 2004-06
K	2,098	2,358	3,028	44%
1	2,017	2,343	2,804	39%
2	1,754	2,105	2,548	45%
3	1,755	1,896	2,363	35%
4	1,591	1,914	2,182	37%
5	1,567	1,739	2,165	38%
6	1,491	1,811	2,020	35%
7	1,494	1,700	2,028	36%
8	1,319	1,663	1,832	39%
9	1,592	1,760	2,101	32%
10	989	1,153	1,391	41%
11	671	780	969	44%
12	547	720	770	41%
Total	18,885	21,942	26,201	39%

*Enrollment as of June 2006 (latest available data).
Source: State Department of Education, 2007.

This figure rose to 30,120 in December 2006, or approximately 4 percent of the overall school population. Education officials expect enrollment of Latino students to increase in the coming years. Reflecting the relative youth of the Latino immigrant population in general, Table 14 reveals that the greatest numbers of Latino children are enrolled in Kindergarten (3,028), with slightly lower enrollments incrementally for each successive grade.

Novice English speakers who enroll in school in the early grades are more successful learning academic content than those who enter American schools in later grades (Fry 2003). State Department of Education officials report that primary-age children have proven successful in reaching English fluency while maintaining grade level with academic content. They also note that elementary teachers generally are responding positively to these increases in Latino enrollment. For example, many teachers are taking advantage of professional development opportunities that provide them with knowledge and strategies for supporting English-language learners. Since all students in American schools are English-language learners, these strategies often benefit not only children for whom English is a second or third language, but also those children whose primary language is English (U. S. Department of Education, 2007). Educators need support and incentives for engaging in such professional development opportunities.

Table 15 indicates the distribution of Latino students across grade levels. At this time,

elementary schools feel the greatest impact of this new population. Elementary schools served 15,090 Latino students in 2006 (averaging 2,525 per grade), compared with 5,880 in middle schools and 5,231 in high schools (averaging 1,960 and 1,308 students per grade, respectively). If immigration rates stabilize, middle and high schools are likely to serve increasing numbers of Latino students in the years ahead as elementary students matriculate into grades 6-12.

Table 15. Latino Enrollment by School Level in South Carolina

	2004	2005	2006	% change 2004-06
K-5	10,782	12,355	15,090	40%
6-8	4,304	5,174	5,880	37%
9-12	3,799	4,413	5,231	38%

Source: State Department of Education, 2007.

Latino school enrollment is unevenly distributed among counties as well. Enrollments by district in 2006 are indicated in Table 16. Reflecting the large number of Latinos in the Upstate, Greenville had the largest enrollment in 2006 (4,756), nearly double that of Beaufort (2,604) and Spartanburg (2,111). Horry, Lexington, Charleston, Richland, Berkley, and York each enrolled over 1,000 Latino students. Thus, relatively large numbers of Latino students are attending schools in the Upstate, but they are present in rural, Low Country areas as well as in urban and suburban centers in the Midlands. The complete table of enrollment of Latino students by county can be found in Appendix II.

Table 16. Enrollment of Hispanic Students in 2006 by District (Over 1,000 students per district)

District	*Enrollment*
Greenville	4,756
Beaufort	2,604
Spartanburg(1-7)	2,111
Horry	1,574
Lexington (1-5)	1,561
Charleston	1,464
Richland (1,2)	1,354
Berkeley	1,227
York (1-4)	1,179

Source: State Department of Education, 2007.

English Language Proficiency

Of the 26,201 Latino students enrolled in South Carolina public schools in June 2006, approximately 16,004 were designated as English Language Learners (ELL). These students participate in "English for Speakers of Other Languages" (ESOL) programs, which were previously referred to as LEP or Limited English Proficient programs. The ELL students represent approximately 2 percent of the total public school population, and 62 percent of the total Latino student population, indicating that almost 40 percent of Latino students are fluent in English and fully integrated in "mainstream" classrooms. These estimates were provided by the Office of Federal Programs in the State Department of Education (SDE), which administers federal funds to support services for ELL students. The Title III Education Associate in the Office of Federal Programs collects data on enrollment of all students in ESOL programs, which include speakers of languages other than Spanish. Approximately 77-80 percent of students in ESOL programs

Table 17. Number of Students Receiving ESOL Services in SC, 2003-2006

School Year	Total ESOL Enrollment	Estimated Hispanic Students in ESOL
2003-2004	12,653	10,224
2004-2005	16,040	12,832
2005-2006	20,005	16,004

Source: State Department of Education, 2007.

are estimated to be Latino. Using an estimate of 80 percent, Table 17 indicates the number of Hispanic students who received ESOL services from 2003-2006. These figures include a small percentage of students whose parents waived the rights to ESOL services.

ESOL program support varies according to need with no set minimum or maximum requirements, but generally, between 1 and 4 hours daily is provided to students who need the services. The process through which students receive language training is undergoing changes, however: the S.C. Title III office reports a move toward an "inclusion model." Rather than pull students from mainstream classrooms to receive English instruction, ESOL program teachers are beginning to "push-in" to the mainstream classrooms to help ELL students learn English through the content areas. Some districts have developed "Newcomer Centers" where newly-arrived non-English speakers receive extended ESOL services for about half of the school day. According to data collected by the SDE Office of Technology, of the Latino students who did receive ESOL program services, about 7 percent were considered "LEP mainstream" and not in need of full ESOL program services (see Table 18).

Of the students who did receive full services, more than half were tested at the levels of Intermediate and Advanced. In other words, English language proficiency among Latino students is higher than what is typically assumed. This is consistent with the USC survey findings: 78 percent of our survey subjects described their children's English-speaking abilities as "good" or "excellent." It is also important to note that since 2003, those categorized as ESOL program students have met the state's Annual Yearly Progress criteria as indicated by their scores on the state's Palmetto Academic Achievement Test (PACT) across 82 out of 85 districts in the state. This serves as yet another indicator of English language proficiency.

It is also critical that the state continue to provide and develop quality ESOL programs to ensure academic success. Toward this end, South Carolina has greatly increased the number of certified or licensed teachers who provide language instruction to immigrant children. The Migration Policy Institute (MPI) reports that the number of certified/licensed teachers working in Title III Language Instruction in South Carolina rose from 275 in 2004 to 460 in 2006 (MPI 2007). Additionally, preservice and in-service teacher education programs need to address strategies for working with ELL students in mainstream classrooms.

While data indicate good-to-high English language proficiency rates among most Latino students, a focus on these data overlooks the language proficiency and literacy knowledge that immigrant students bring with them from their homes. Many Latino students are also fluent Spanish speakers (and sometimes fluent in indigenous languages). From this perspective, the South Carolina public school system has an opportunity to graduate an increasing number of fluent bilingual and multilingual speakers in the years ahead, particularly if students are provided opportunities to develop literacy proficiency in their native language.

Are Latino immigrant children better off speaking English in their homes? Over two

Table 18. ESOL Enrollment of Hispanic Students in South Carolina Public Schools in 2006

Waiver	Prefunctional	LEP Beginner	Intermediate	Advanced	LEP mainstream	Total
406	3,736	2,895	4,827	2,686	1,620	16,170

Source: State Department of Education, 2007.

percent of South Carolina families communicate primarily in a language other than English—half the national average of 5.6 percent (MPI 2007). However, research suggests that language spoken at home does not affect academic achievement. In fact, studies indicate that immigrant adolescents "perform well in language arts classes despite having more difficulty with standardized tests of reading and English" and even outscored their native peers in mathematics and English, in part due to general high value and support for education among immigrant families (Fuligini 1997, p. 360). Furthermore, James Cummins (2000) reviewed a long-standing body of research showing that maintenance of one's first language facilitates, rather than hinders, second language learning. While home language does not affect academic achievement, providing accessible, affordable English language classes to adult family members can better prepare parents to interact with school personnel and learn about opportunities and resources for their children.

Graduation Rates

Latino graduation rates in the state are comparable to those of other minority groups, particularly African-American and Native American students. As of June 2007, data on graduation rates were not yet available from the SDE for 2006. Table 19 represents graduation rates by ethnic group in 2004 and 2005. Latino students graduated at a rate of 69 percent in 2004 and 67 percent in 2005. These rates are similar to those of African-American students (70 percent in 2004, 69 percent in 2005). Native American students graduated at a higher rate in 2004 (79 percent) but at similar rates in 2005 (68 percent). White and Asian students graduated at rates 15-22 percentage points higher than Latino students during those same years.

Table 19. Graduation Rates By Ethnic/ Racial Group

*Ethnic/Racial Group**	*2004*	*2005*
Hispanic	69%	67%
African-American	70%	69%
American Indian	79%	68%
White	83%	83%
Asian	85%	84%

*Ethnic/racial identifiers provided by the SC Department of Education. Percentages rounded up to the nearest whole number.
Source: State Department of Education, 2007.

More data are needed before conclusions can be drawn about the reason for these relatively low graduation rates and before determining how best to increase them. Researchers offer some explanations for Latinos' relatively high drop-out rates, including language differences, feelings of discrimination and alienation, economic pressure to provide family income, immigration status, prior academic performance, delays in schooling (e.g., retention), and academic expectations and goals (Driscoll 1999; Fry 2003; Valez 1989; Valenzuela 1999).

Federal Funding Provided to School Districts

Across the United States, federal funding is provided to school districts that serve ELL and migrant students. According to the Migration Policy Institute, under the "No Child Left Behind" Act,

> . . . the federal government provides grants to states for: English language instruction; instructional and other services for LEP and immigrant students; family literacy and parental outreach; mentoring and counseling; and professional development of teachers and staff. The size of each state's grant depends on the number of LEP children in that state and on the number of immigrant children and youth (MPI 2007, p. 9).

In the 2005-2006 academic year, federal allocations for Title III ESOL programs in South Carolina totaled $2,347,502. As reported above, 77-80 percent of ESOL program students are Latino, therefore ESOL funding supports students from other ethnic backgrounds, as well. Table 20 provides Title III allocations by district from 2004-2007. These awards are to supplement, not supplant, the district and state funding requirements for all students to ensure that their educational needs are met. While Title III allocations across the state held relatively steady at approximately $2,300,000 from 2004 to 2007, this figure nearly doubled for the 2007-8 school year to $4,048,272 (data are not yet available at the district level). This additional funding will offer some relief to individual schools in covering costs associated with ESOL education. Counties receiving over $200,000 in 2006-07 include Greenville ($404,615); Spartanburg, which includes 7 school districts ($242,573); and Beaufort ($236,278). Richland County, which includes 2 school districts, received $158,164; and 3 of the 5 school districts in Lexington collected a total of $160,586.

In addition to the state's more permanent Latino students, some Latino children are in public school temporarily, as they travel with parents who are migrant agricultural workers. Most migrant students in South Carolina are Latinos. The state also received federal funding to help educate migrant children. According to the State Department of Education, federal funding for South

Table 20. Title III Grant Awards by County, S.C.[1]

County	*2004-2005*	*2005-2006*	*2006-2007*
Greenville	$213,514	$369,551	$404,615
Charleston	$160,726	$158,682	$160,586
Lexington	$125,747	$131,223	$124,254
Richland	$192,055	$167,329	$158,164
York[2]	$117,804	$105,434	$101,606
Aiken	$62,874	$65,232	$67,577
Berkeley	$103,216	$99,973	$106,331
Newberry	$54,934	$46,421	$44,809
Saluda	$32,617	$21,997	$20,466
Spartanburg	$231,108	$264,721	$242,573
Georgetown	$27,896	$27,003	$21,193
Horry	$130,683	$135,623	$138,303
Oconee	$48,711	$41,567	$44,809
Dorchester	$36,265	$26,093	$27,370
Greenwood	$85,405	$75,397	$72,179
Anderson[3]	$36,479	$65,837	$73,145
Barnwell			
Pickens	$46,565	$44,752	$44,082
Colleton			
Marion[4]	$22,315	$25,332	$23,971
Sumter[5]	$36,478	$26,849	$19,254
Edgefield			
Lancaster	$33,690	$28,823	$24,947
Abbeville	$12,660		
Beaufort	$304,285	$273,826	$236,278
Cherokee	$38,196	$42,477	$35,726
Chesterfield	$22,531	$15,018	$15,622
Florence	$19,527	$18,204	$19,619
Jasper	$26,394	$33,526	$53,407
Kershaw[6]	$22,531	$24,575	$28,458
Laurens	$28,969	$30,037	$30,760
Orangeburg[7]	$13,088	$22,600	$22,039
Total	*$2,287,263*	*$2,388,102*	*$2,362,143*

1 Of the 23 counties surveyed, the following did not receive allocations: Barnwell, Colleton, and Edgefield in 2004-05; Barnwell in 2005-06 and 2006-07', while Colleton and Edgefield were included in other county's consortia.
2 Chester and Fairfield counties were included in York County's consortia for 2004-05.
3 Abbeville and Edgefield counties were included in Anderson county's consortia for 2005-06 and 2006-07.
4 Florence and Dillon counties were included in Marion County's consortia for 2004-05, 2005-06 and 2006-07.
5 Clarendon County was included in Sumter county's consortia for 2004-05, 2005-06, and 2006-07.
6 Chester and Fairfield counties were included in Kershaw County's consortia for 2005-06 and 2006-07.
7 Calhoun County was included in Orangeburg County's consortia for 2004-05. Bamberg, Calhoun, and Colleton counties were included in Orangeburg County's consortia for 2005-06 and 2006-07.

Source: State Department of Education, 2007

Table 21. Allocation of Federal Migrant Summer Program Funds

	FY02	FY03	FY04	FY05	FY06
Aiken	$49,500	$53,892	$75,881	$48,470	$55,610
Beaufort	$53,000	$56,164	$53,317	$49,432	$47,077
Charleston	$105,000	$101,199	84,322	$53,058	$59,157
Clarendon 3	NA	NA	$59,606	$58,830	$52,350
Newberry	$20,000	$46,981	$48,400	$58,756	$62,034
Saluda	$22,000	NA	$20,480	$59,200	$43,529
Spartanburg 1	$28,000	NA	NA	NA	NA
Spartanburg 2	$91,000	$64,218	$55,200	$57,128	$60,404
Total	*$368,500*	*$322,454*	*$397,206*	*$384,874*	*$380,161*

Source: State Department of Education, 2007

Carolina's migrant summer programs totaled $322,454 in 2003, $397,206 in 2004, and, in 2006, $380,161 was allocated to 8 school districts (see Table 21).

Opportunities

What is the overall cost to the state of educating Latino students? At this point it is impossible to determine. Like all students in S.C. schools, Latino students require Base Student Costs and monies for special programs. The average per pupil expenditure in South Carolina is roughly $7,800. The SDE does not collect data costs associated with providing ESOL program instruction, nor for expenditures associated with educating students of particular ethnic groups.

At the same time, the sudden increase in the number of students of Latin American origin has challenged South Carolina's public education system, as school districts have made numerous efforts to provide services to ensure Latino student success. Federal funding in Title III and Migrant Education programs provide some resources, but do not cover the cost of services required to support Latino students. However, it is also important to consider the opportunities that come from the increased numbers of Latino students in South Carolina schools and consider how the challenges can be met in ways that benefit all children.

First, given the tendencies of immigrant communities to remain segregated from the larger community, schools are important resources for incorporating Latinos into South Carolina communities. Schools are community centers that bring together families of all ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. In an increasingly globalized world where cultural and linguistic diversity is paramount, many schools are responding to increasing Latino enrollments with programs that facilitate multilingualism and multicultural understanding among all families.

Furthermore, several elementary schools in South Carolina offer language partial immersion programs, in which students of all ethnic and linguistic backgrounds learn their academic subjects in English during one half of the day and a target language, such as Spanish or French, during the other half. Schools that adopt these programs determine which content areas will be addressed in the target language. Table 22 depicts the partial immersion programs that currently exist in South Carolina and are available to students enrolled in that district by lottery. Lexington 1 started its program in August 2006, and there is al-

ready a waiting list of families representing both English-dominant children and English language learners. Greenville started its program with two kindergarten classes, and now each grade K-5 has a partial immersion class. The first cohort will graduate from fifth grade in 2008, having gained fluency in their target language while maintaining grade level and annual yearly progress in academic content.

Table 22. Partial Immersion Programs in South Carolina

District	*# schools hosting the program*	*Target Language*
Greenville	1	2 tracks: 1 Spanish 1 French
Lexington 1	3	2 Spanish 1 French

Source: State Department of Education, 2007

Partial immersion programs do not bear additional costs, since the school requires a full-time teacher for each classroom regardless of the language used for instruction. On the other hand, according the Office of Curriculum and Standards in the SDE, about 100 of South Carolina's 600 elementary schools hire additional foreign language teachers to offer foreign language instruction on a limited basis (for example, one to two times per week per class), resulting not only in additional costs, but also students with a novice level of proficiency at best. Although immersion programs are more cost-effective and tend to produce students proficient in a second language, the challenge in South Carolina is locating teachers who are proficient themselves in providing second language instruction in a language other than English and who hold early childhood or elementary school teaching certificates. Regardless of the route taken regarding language learning, the interest in providing more cultural/linguistic knowledge to students in South Carolina is crucial in a global world and is supported by a growing Latino population.

Additionally, as mentioned earlier, effective professional development opportunities that address the needs of second language learners and children from immigrating Latino families largely result in "best practice" knowledge that teachers can draw on to assist all learners, regardless of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. For example, teachers who learn strategies for teaching the vocabulary of academic content areas can benefit students of all linguistic backgrounds (U.S. Department of Education, 2007). Such professional development opportunities also address the requirements of the federal No Child Left Behind Act to provide highly qualified teachers—teachers who have the knowledge and skills to teach a diverse range of individual learners.

Chapter 3. Health Implications

Many Americans have expressed concern that the influx of new immigrants to the United States in recent years places a burden on local economies, particularly in the areas of education and health care. The most often cited health care expense is related to use of emergency health care, but verifying the exact costs for emergency health care for Latinos has proven challenging. The hospital spokespersons with whom we spoke said they do not routinely gather or release data on emergency room care for Latinos. Most said they do not collect detailed information on ethnicity or payment for services by ethnicity. Therefore, in this report we rely on data collected by the South Carolina State Budget and Control Board on health care costs, and from our sample population regarding their health and their health conditions, and health care practices and costs.

Self-Report of Health Status and Changes since Arriving in the United States

The USC survey results support findings elsewhere regarding Latino immigrant health in the United States: generally speaking, the overall health of this relatively young immigrant population is good (Vega and Amaro 2002; Carter-Pokras and Zambrana 2001). Most of the USC survey respondents (86.4 percent) reported that their health status was good or very good, and about 70 percent said their health has not changed since they arrived in the United States. Only about 15 percent mentioned that their health has improved, and about the same proportion (15.3 percent) said their health has gotten worse since they arrived. Those who reported that their health has deteriorated (15 percent of the total, or 86 respondents) listed the following conditions.

- Lack of sleep, depression, culture shock (more than 20 percent)
- Digestive system conditions, including general stomach problems, weight gain, poor nutrition, and/or stomach ulcer (17 percent)
- Respiratory conditions such as frequent colds, allergies, problems in their lungs and sore throats (15 percent)
- Chronic fatigue that respondents attributed to hard work and aging (roughly 12 percent)
- Pains in arms and back, largely related to the type of work respondents do (11 percent)
- Heart problems, diabetes, accidents at work, uterine cancer, “prostate problems”, anemia and eye conditions (remaining 25 percent)

Medical Care

USC survey data reveal that almost half of Latinos in South Carolina are not seeking medical treatment, a situation consistent with findings across the United States. Among the reasons many Latinos do not seek medical care is the fact that few have health insurance. The USC survey revealed that three of four Latinos (74 percent) said they had no health insurance, and 35 percent reported that their children lack health insurance, as well. Of those adults with health insurance, the majority (95 percent) had private insurance; in contrast, the insured children had public insurance (83 percent). The number of uninsured Latinos in South Carolina is therefore much higher than

that reported by the nation as a whole (36.2 percent) (Rhoades and Vistnes 2006).

The lack of health insurance leads some Latinos (5 percent of those surveyed) to return to their countries of origin for medical care. Some said they return for general check-ups (8 people), others to visit a dentist (6 people), a few to receive treatment for allergies and colds (three people) or to get eye check-ups (two people). The remainder said they had returned to their home country for treatment of a foot injury, arthritis, cirrhosis or to buy medicinal herbs.

Table 23. Reasons for Seeking Medical Care for Latino Families

Condition	Number*	*Percent*
Infective & Parasitic Diseases	10	*3.4*
Endocrine, Nutrition & Metabolic	11	*3.7*
Mental Problems	14	*4.7*
Nervous System & Sense Organs	6	*2.0*
Diseases of Circulatory System	14	*4.7*
Diseases of the Respiratory System	50	*16.8*
Diseases of the Digestive System	24	*8.1*
Diseases of Genitourinary System	8	*2.7*
Musculoskeletal/Connective Tissue	24	*8.1*
Dental	12	*4.0*
Accidents/Poison/Violence	24	*8.1*
Check-Up, Vaccines	59	*19.9*
Delivery, Newborns	41	*13.8*

*One person may be in more than one diagnostic group.
Source: USC Study

Still, despite the general lack of health insurance, just over half of respondents in the USC survey (roughly 57 percent, or 284) reported that they had sought medical care for themselves or a member or members of their family during the past year here in South Carolina. The reasons for seeking medical care are listed in Table 23, classified using the S.C. Office of Research and Statistics (ORS) classification system (ORS 2006).

As Table 23 reveals, most respondents in the USC study seek medical care for check-ups and vaccines, mostly for their children. About 17 percent of the doctor's visits were related to respiratory conditions, namely, flu, colds, allergies, and asthma. Roughly 8 percent reported seeking medical care because of digestive problems, and another 8 percent due to musculoskeletal conditions, which were described as fractures, several of them as job-related injuries.

Approximately 14 percent of the health care visits were related to delivering babies. Data collected by the S.C. ORS also reveal that the majority of Latinos' inpatient, outpatient, or emergency room visits are related to respiratory problems and births (ORS 2006). Reflecting the rapid growth of the Latino population in the state since the mid-1990s, data from South Carolina's Department of Health and Environmental Control show that the number of births for Latino residents in South Carolina has increased by about 656 percent between 1990 and 2004, from 573 births in 1990 to 4,332 in 2004 (S.C. DHEC 2007).

In general, however, we can report that Latinos comprise a small percentage of those getting medical care in the state. Data from the S.C. Office of Research and Statistics indicate that in 2005 (last data available), Latinos comprised only 1.6 percent of all the hospital discharges (inpatient, outpatient, and/or emergency room visits). In comparison, 33.6 percent of all discharges were African-Americans, and 64.8 percent were Whites. Further, of the total number of people visiting emergency rooms in 2005, only 1.6 percent were Hispanic/Latino (ORS 2006).*

Health care costs in South Carolina (2005), again according to the ORS, are categorized

* See Appendix III for detailed information on hospital discharges in the state in 2005.

as follows: 70.2 percent of expenses were incurred by Whites, 28.7 percent by African Americans, and only 1.1 percent for Latinos. Forty-four percent of Latinos' total health care costs in South Carolina in 2005 were billed to private insurance companies, 20.1 percent to Medicaid, 10.6 percent to Medicare, 1.3 percent were considered "indigent," and the second-largest percentage (23.9) of the payments (after private insurance companies) were categorized as self-pay. ORS data indicates that 38 percent of the Latinos who received emergency room services in 2005 paid out-of-pocket, 33 percent had insurance, 23 percent had Medicaid, 5 percent had Medicare and only 0.6 percent were considered "indigent" (ORS 2006).

A large percentage of the Medicaid payments went to Latino children who were born in the United States: 73 percent of South Carolina's Latinos enrolled in Medicaid at any point in 2005 were children 17 and younger (ORS 2006). Still, the overall costs for health care among the Latino population was exceedingly small, compared with the White and African-American populations.

Considering the high percentage of uninsured Latinos in the USC survey (74 percent), it is somewhat surprising that only 1.3 percent of all Latinos using health care facilities in 2005 were categorized as "indigent," and only 0.6 percent of those using emergency rooms were classified in that manner. The ORS-reported percentage of Latinos who pay out-of-pocket is consistent with the USC survey: almost half of the Latinos surveyed (48.5 percent) mentioned they paid an average $1,300 out-of-pocket for health care in 2005-2006. Additionally, about 20 percent of the participants reported that they were still paying for health care in installments (and had an average of $1,830 in medical debt). While staff in the Billing Office at Palmetto Richland Memorial Hospital in Columbia would not provide detailed information regarding payments from Latinos, they reported that most of their Latino patients arranged a payment plan and paid out-of-pocket.

While a lack of interpreters may have deterred some Latinos from seeking medical treatment, the situation in South Carolina's medical facilities has improved somewhat (Lacy 2007). More than one-half (56 percent) of USC study subjects who have had contact with medical providers in the state encountered bilingual staff when visiting a health care provider. Slightly less than half (47 percent) said that they received the service of an interpreter. Only 4 people mentioned that they had to bring their own interpreter. These results show that an increasing number of health care providers in the state are complying with national standards on culturally and linguistically appropriate services (CLAS) in health care, issued from the federal Office of Minority Health, concerning language access services to LEP patients (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2003).

Chapter 4. Employee Benefits

Employee benefits make up a significant component of compensation for most U.S. workers today. In a 2005 study by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, employer payments for employee benefits average 40.2 percent of payroll (U.S. Chamber of Commerce 2005). Of the total spent by employers on benefits, about one-quarter goes toward the employer cost of social insurance payments (most notably Social Security and Workers' Compensation), about one-quarter to private retirement plans, about one-quarter to health benefits, and one-quarter to miscellaneous other benefits, including paid time-off. Employers, by law, are required to provide social insurance only; retirement plans and group insurance coverage are strictly optional.

Given that private insurance and retirement plans are choice variables for employers rather than mandated by law, it is not surprising that plan design varies significantly across employers. Factors that affect employer benefit design decisions include firm size, industry type, geographical location, degree of industry unionization, and other factors. Service occupations such as construction, landscaping, restaurant and hospitality services, manufacturing and processing, and agriculture typically provide fewer benefits on average when compared with white-collar and blue-collar occupations. In addition, service occupations are typically lower-wage positions, giving workers less disposable income for contributions toward a benefit plan. "Service occupations" represent the majority of employers of Latino respondents in the USC Survey, as seen in Table 29 (p. 35) given later in this study.

National and state data show the disparity between private group insurance benefits for service and other non-service jobs. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce indicates that while 49 percent of employees, on average, receive group life insurance, on average only 24 percent of employees in "service occupations" receive group life insurance. Similarly, while an average of 53 percent of all U.S. workers have group medical insurance, only about 27 percent of employees in service occupations receive group medical insurance. The USC Survey data for S.C. Latinos are consistent with the Chamber report. Of Latino respondents asked whether the employer offered health insurance to the worker, only 46.8 percent responded "yes." Of those offered coverage, only 58.3 percent opted to take the group insurance. The S.C. survey thus indicates that, of the total Latino respondents to the survey, only 27.2 percent receive health insurance through their employer. The primary reason given for refusing employer-offered health insurance was "economically impossible." It is also worth noting that, since the United States is the only industrialized country in the world without a government-sponsored universal health care system of any type, it is common for immigrants to not fully appreciate the need for their own health insurance. In the USC Survey, about 14 percent turned down group health coverage because they "did not need" it.

USC Survey respondents also were asked if the employer had offered them other benefits besides health insurance. About 29 percent reported being offered other benefits and, of those offered, about 65 percent opted to take

the benefit. Of those refusing the other benefits, about 35 cited economic reasons for their decision, and about 32 percent believed that they did not need it. Overall, the USC Survey indicates that employers are more likely to offer health benefits than other benefits (46 percent compared with 29 percent) but, when offered benefits, the Latino employees are more likely to take other benefits than they are to take health benefits (65 percent compared with 58 percent). Since the primary reason given in the USC Survey to decline any type of benefit coverage was "economic impossibility," this result is not surprising: group medical insurance is by far the most costly employee benefit, and, even if offered, it is harder to accept given the cost to the worker.

For both medical benefits and other employee benefits, the trends here are not surprising: Latino workers are more likely to be in lower-wage, service sector jobs which means fewer benefits are offered by employers and fewer benefits are taken by employees. Latino workers have fewer private insurance benefits on average than non-Latino workers.

The USC Survey provides insight not only into private-sector group insurance coverage for Latino workers, but also public-sector social insurance through the Workers' Compensation program (the USC survey did not include questions regarding Social Security). The data indicate that about 42 percent of Latino respondents received workplace safety information in Spanish. This may be problematic for ensuring workplace safety, since about 51 percent of the respondents reported English skills as "none to little" and another 25 percent reported English skills as "poor." About 15 percent of respondents reported being injured on the job and, of those injured, almost 88 percent reported the injury to their supervisor. The most common cause of workplace injury was falling (40.4 percent), followed by lacerations (at 19.3 percent) and lifting injuries and sprains (at 14 percent). About 70 percent of respondents said that the employer paid for workplace injury medical expenses, and about 61 percent reported that the employer paid lost wages for time missed, as well. Overall, there appears to be some Workers' Compensation coverage in place for Latino workers in South Carolina, but there also is a need for more workplace safety training in Spanish and better coverage of medical expenses and lost wages for those hurt on the job.

Chapter 5. Economic and Labor Market Implications

Introduction

Fundamentally, the rise of the Latino population in South Carolina is an economic phenomenon. Over the past decade, the influx of Latino immigrants to the United States has been driven by economic forces both in the United States and in Latin America. In many respects, it can be seen as part of the ongoing globalization of the economy: the accelerated movement of goods, capital, and *labor* across national borders.

In the United States, one important force in the globalization of the economy has been the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which opened borders to freer flows of goods and capital. The agreement did not include immigrant labor, but in some respects that has been a direct economic consequence. Since 1994, NAFTA has had a profound effect on industrial and regional restructuring within Mexico, the United States, and Canada. To take one scenario, agricultural workers in poor, rural regions of Mexico see lower prices for their produce and must compete with imported agricultural goods from other countries. Young, relatively poor Mexican males respond by migrating to where employment creation is still healthy and growing—notably in the booming construction sector of the United States since 2000. Young workers at home hear about the prospects for employment and income in distant, largely unknown parts of the United States like the Southeast. As a result, Mexican regions emerge as sources of labor migration to the United States, while regions in the United States—including South Carolina—receive Mexican immigrants.

At its root, then, globalization—the opening of national economies to international trade, investment, and labor—drives Latino immigration to the United States. Over time, families follow workers. They are lured by the prospect of a dramatically better life in the United States than would ever be possible in Latin America. Given this economic dynamic, one would expect to find that the Latino population will continue to grow.

The economic logic of rising Latino immigration can be summarized as the result of pushing and pulling forces. The pushing force is limited employment opportunities in Latin America. In contrast with strong, steady growth in the United States, a series of economic and financial crises have afflicted Latin America, including the Mexican international debt meltdown in the early 1980s and the collapse of the Mexican peso in 1994-95. Beyond NAFTA and the effects of competing in a more globalized economy, these severe recessions produced a large class of long-term, marginally employed workers who have flooded into major cities. Surprisingly, according to the extensive survey of Mexican migrants to the United States conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center (Kochhar 2005b), only five percent were unemployed in Mexico before they left. Yet many Latin American workers would end up in the informal economy, living on the urban fringe of Latin American cities. There is little government assistance for impoverished or marginally employed workers. Few regions in Latin America can absorb the burgeoning displaced labor force. Hence, facing limited opportunity at home, many Latin Americans choose to

undertake the risks and serious challenges involved in migrating to North America.

The pulling force is the employment opportunities in the United States compared with Latin America. For many workers, it is possible to make as much as ten times more income in the United States, even with minimal skill. In a 2004-2005 survey of Mexican migrants to the United States (Kochhar 2005b), 72 percent of the respondents reported that they did not complete high school.

The Latino labor force is lured to the United States by domestic businesses. As the U.S. economy improves, the healthier economic environment draws in Latino immigrant workers to the United States (Passel and Suro 2005). Job creation remains a hallmark of the U.S. economy. For many immigrants, jobs seem to be plentiful, with wages far above the norm for Latin America, and the immigrants are willing to accept wages and benefits below that expected by U.S. workers. Thus, as a competitive strategy, some firms seek immigrant workers because they are vastly less inexpensive relative to native U.S. workers. In addition, Latin American immigrant workers are known to be highly motivated and extremely productive (which is typically the case for immigrant labor). In economic terms, this means unit labor costs are lowered for U.S. firms.

It is not surprising that construction and landscaping firms seek Latino labor because the industry *cannot move* its activities to other locations which have large pools of cheap labor. Mobile industries like textiles and apparel can re-locate offshore and export from low-cost platforms in developing countries. But immobile industries like construction and landscaping can only lower labor costs by importing cheaper (largely semi-skilled and unskilled) labor.

It has often been asserted that U.S. citizens do not desire the jobs taken by Latino immigrants. This may not be the case in construction (roofing may be an exception) and landscaping. Yet other industries like animal slaughtering (meat and poultry processing) often experience high worker turnover among native workers. Latinos may be eager to keep these jobs, given the relatively high wages compared with the home country.

The flood of workers (and subsequently their families) to the United States has caused the overall issue of immigration to take center stage in the U.S. political debate. Yet the economic dimensions of Latino immigration are rarely discussed. Indeed, the overall impact of importing low-skilled labor on the existing labor force is not well understood. There could be effects both on employment and wages, at least for industries that have had a large influx of labor in a short period of time.

In this chapter, we analyze the pertinent economic issues related to the rise of the Latino population in South Carolina. Because South Carolina is a relatively low-income state, it is worth considering the effects that a rising (largely immigrant) Latino population may have on employment, wages, and poverty. We begin by reviewing what economists say about the economic implications of immigration in the United States, with a focus on employment and wage trends. Next, we turn to examine the recent job and wage trends in South Carolina. The analysis draws on the American Community Survey (2005) and the 2006-2007 USC Survey of Latinos in South Carolina, described elsewhere in this study.

Background: Immigration Economics

Economists have attempted to assess the complex effects of stepped-up immigrant labor

in the U.S. economy. Much of this work has concentrated on the consequences for the employment and wages of U.S. citizens (which we will also refer to as native workers). A long stream of research has examined the effects of raising the supply of unskilled workers in the United States (for a review, see Hanson 2006). The best known recent work in this vein is by Cuban-born, Harvard labor economist George Borjas. In an extensive series of papers, he persuasively and carefully argues that immigrants coming into the United States act as a depressing force for wages of low-skilled native citizens by increasing the supply of unskilled labor, especially in states where immigration is most concentrated. Other well-known economists studying recent U.S. immigration, notably David Card's (2005) analysis of U.S. Census data, support the assertion that immigrant laborers tend to be primarily low skilled. According to Card's (2005) research, immigrants make up 13 percent of the working age population; however, they comprise 28 percent of the working age population with less than a high school diploma, and 50 percent of the working age population with less than eight years of schooling.

Much of the economic analysis has been done with older data on immigration in the United States. In one early, yet influential study, Borjas teamed with two other leading labor economists, Richard Freeman and Lawrence Katz, to analyze time-series data over a 20-year span (1967-1987). Results of this study indicated that immigration accounted for slightly more than 25 percent of the 10 percent drop in relative earnings of U.S.-born high school dropouts between 1980 and 1988—a time when total immigrants grew from 6.9 percent of the labor force to 9.3 percent (with Mexican immigration rising especially rapidly). This equates to a reduction in the wage of dropouts of 1.2 percent for every one percentage point increase in the proportion of foreign-born workers in the labor force (Borjas, Freeman, and Katz 1992).

A set of studies by Borjas continued to delve deeper into the economics of immigration. Borjas and Ramey (1993) estimated that a one percentage point increase in the proportion of immigrants in the labor force decreased the wages of high school dropouts (as compared with those who graduated from college) by 0.6 percent.

It is important to stress that in another study, Borjas (1995) found that native workers derive some benefits from immigration. However, he found that that these economic benefits resulted from the complementary effects of unskilled immigrant workers on skilled labor. Immigrants may also raise the return on capital (profit). In other words, low or unskilled immigrants can be beneficial for skilled workers (they can hire immigrants for services, for example) and profitable for firms (immigrants can reduce wages and benefits costs, raise productivity, lower absenteeism, etc.).

Among all recent studies, the most widely cited is Borjas' 2004 study. This largely negative assessment of the impact of immigration on wages analyzed the effects for men between the ages of 18 and 64. After sorting the data by educational attainment and work experience, Borjas concluded:

> Immigration reduced the average annual earnings of native-born men by an estimated $1,700 or roughly 4 percent [between 1980 and 2000] . . .. [A]mong natives without a high school education . . . the estimated impact was even larger, reducing their wages by 7.4 percent . . .. The negative effect on native-born black and Hispanic workers is significantly larger than on whites . . . [and] the reduction in earnings occurs regardless of whether immigrants are legal or illegal, permanent or temporary.

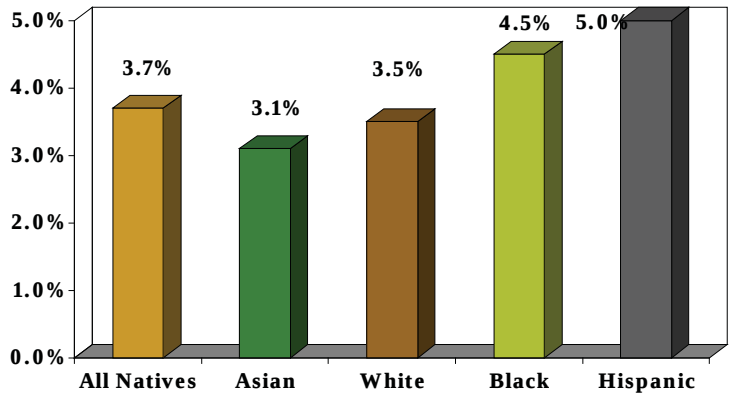
Table 24 summarizes Borjas' results, broken down by educational attainment and by race.

Table 24. Wage Consequences of Immigration in the 1980s and 1990s

Years of Experience	High School Dropouts	High School Graduates	Some College	College Graduates
1-5	-6.1%	-1.4%	-1.2%	-2.9%
6-10	-10.3%	-2.6%	-1.8%	-2.9%
11-15	-12.7%	-3.1%	-2.9%	-4.2%
16-20	-12.4%	-2.9%	-2.7%	-4.6%
21-25	-9.5%	-2.4%	-3.2%	-4.3%
26-30	-7.3%	-2.1%	-2.7%	-3.9%
31-35	-4.4%	-1.7%	-2.1%	-3.3%
36-40	-1.8%	-0.5%	-1.5%	-4.1%
All Workers	-7.4%	-2.1%	-2.3%	-3.6%

Source: Borjas (2004), Center for Immigration Studies, p. 5

Figure 1: Impact of Immigrant Influx on Wages of Native Workers, by Race (1980-2000)



Source: Borjas, Center for Immigration Studies, p. 5

This is followed by Figure 1 showing the impact of immigration on wages by race for native U.S. citizens.

Labor market studies by Borjas and his associates are important to review because the conclusions contain insights that are relevant to South Carolina as the rate of immigration increases. Another important study is Borjas and Katz (2005), which also looks at the effects of immigrants on the native workforce in the United States. Using data from the decennial census from the years 1980, 1990, and 2000, this study again found that immigrants may have a profound effect on wages of native-born workers (note that some of the results have been countered by other analysts, as discussed below). Instead, Borjas and Katz (2005) estimated that the rise of immigrant labor during the 1980s and 1990s lowered the wage of most native workers, particularly those workers at the top and bottom of the education distribu-

tion. The wages fell by 8.2 percent for high school dropouts and by 2.8 percent for college graduates. In contrast, the wage of high school graduates and workers with some college fell by just over 2 percent. Overall, the immigrant influx from 1980 to 2000 is estimated to have reduced the wage of the typical native worker by 3.3 percent.

Borjas and Katz then focused their work on the specific wage effects of Mexican immigration, comparing wage results from 1980-2000 with the predicted results had there been no immigration from Mexico. They found that, in the short run, Mexican immigration affects native workers with low levels of educational attainment adversely and only slightly improves the wages of workers who have achieved a high level of educational attainment. In the long run, however, the effects of this wave of immigration diminish (Borjas and Katz 2005).

Table 25, taken from Borjas and Katz's (2005) study, summarizes the results of the Mexican immigration surge over the last 20 years.

Table 25. Predicted Percentage Change in the Weekly Wage Resulting from the 1980-2000 Immigrant Influx Compared with a Counterfactual of No Mexican Immigration During Same Period

Specification/Group	*Actual Impact*	*Counterfactual: No Mexican Immigration*
Short-run: Capital is fixed		
All Workers	-3.3%	-2.2%
High school dropouts	-8.2%	-0.1%
High school graduates	-2.2	-1.2
Some college	-2.6	-2.3
College graduates	-3.8	-3.9
Long-run: Capital is perfectly elastic		
All Workers	0.1%	0.6%
High school dropouts	-4.8%	2.7%
High school graduates	1.1	1.6
Some college	0.8	0.5
College graduates	-0.5	-1.1

Source: Borjas and Katz, NBER 2005, p. 63r

Despite such findings, in a recent article Borjas et al. (Borjas, Grogger, and Hanson 2006) detected that immigrants slightly increased the wages of U.S. workers overall (by 0.1 percent). Even so, immigrants had a negative impact on low-skilled workers' earnings by five percent (that is, for those without a high school diploma). The study concludes that the fall in employment has led also to a rise in incarceration for the low-skill U.S. black population (for a critique of this study, see Furchtgott-Roth 2006). Since a large proportion of the South Carolina labor force is low skill, this is a particularly troubling result.

In contrast to the stark findings of Borjas and colleagues, however, other economic studies suggest a more positive result of immigration. Most notable is the work of David Card (2005), who performed a detailed study of the 2000 U.S. Census, building on his previous analysis of the 1990 Census (Card 2001). This work focused on employment rates in different occupational groups. In the earlier study, Card broke down employment by occupation and compared city-level labor force trends. He found a slight negative effect on the employment rates for native workers caused by increased relative population shares resulting from immigration. Specifically, he found that a 10 percent increase in the relative population of low-skilled workers would decrease the employment rates for current residents (both earlier immigrants and native workers) in the same occupational grouping by one to two percent (Card 2001).

In another study, Card (2005) again examined

whether immigration reduced labor opportunities for low-skilled U.S.-born workers and the implications for wages. Analyzing U.S. Census data, he assigned both immigrants and natives to certain skilled sub-groups. Under certain methods, he found, at best, only a slight negative impact of more unskilled immigrants on native dropout employment. Card also found that the wages of native high-school dropouts are not correlated with the supply of low-skilled workers. Card's work detected only a minor wage effect—less than three percent reduction--among low-skilled workers in urban areas like Miami and Los Angeles with high immigrant populations. In other cities, he found even smaller wage effects on low-skilled workers. Unlike Borjas, this research led Card to conclude that the increased supply of immigrants with low levels of educational attainment do not adversely affect low-skilled native-born workers, either in terms of employment opportunities or wage rates.

Economists reach different conclusions about immigration's effects largely because they use different methods and data sources. Besides Card, some researchers have uncovered generally beneficial impacts from immigration in the U.S. job market and wages. Especially notable is the work by Ottaviano and Peri (2006), who found strong positive effects of immigrants on the wages of U.S.-born workers, with the least-educated U.S. citizens the only ones experiencing wage loss (and not by much). Specifically, Ottaviano and Peri concluded:

> [I]n the long-run the average wage of U.S.-born workers experienced a significant increase (+1.8%) as a consequence of immigration during the 1990-2004 period. Even in the short run (as of 2004) average wage of US native workers had a moderate increase (+0.7%) because of immigration . . .. Second, the group of least educated U.S.-born workers suffers a significantly smaller wage loss than previously calculated . . .. The fact that uneducated foreign-born do not fully and directly substitute for (i.e.; compete with) uneducated natives, but partly complement their skills, is the reason for this attenuation. Third, all other groups of U.S.-born workers (with at least a high school degree) who accounted for 90% of the U.S.-born labor force in 2004, gained from immigration.

Many labor market studies of immigration are conducted at the national level. It is possible that immigration affects regions of the United States differently. On this point, a Pew Hispanic Center report by Rakesh Kochhar is worth reviewing. This time the analysis was conducted using the U.S. Census records of foreign-born workers in the United States (which clearly is a documented immigrant population). The report found great variation across states in terms of the effects of immigration on employment of native-born U.S. workers. Kochhar (2005a) evaluated employment data from the U.S. Census (the study did not look at wages). Analyzing labor force effects based on the employment rate, labor force participation rate, and the unemployment rate, Kochhar (2005a, pp. ii-iii, 10, 26) found two patterns emerging across states.

1. In some areas; e.g. Arizona, North Carolina, and Tennessee; an increase in the immigrant (foreign-born) population negatively affected U.S.-born workers. This group includes South Carolina, as well.

2. A contrary trend emerged in other areas, chiefly Texas, Georgia, and Nevada; in these states, a swelling immigrant population benefited native-born workers.

The results held up over two periods analyzed—from 1990-2000 and from 2000-2004 (Kochhar 2005a, p. 10, 16).

State Economic Studies

In addition to studies of the effects of immigration on the U.S. labor markets, there has

been a set of economic studies on the impact of Latinos in specific states. These studies vary widely in the issues they cover and the methods they employ.

A Georgia State University study (Rioja, Valev, and Wilske 2006) examined the effects of the Latino immigrant population on the native workforce. Reviewing national studies, they argued that in states such as Georgia, which attract primarily lower-skilled immigrant workers, "immigration has in fact some adverse effects on low-skilled natives," in terms of both reducing employment opportunities and suppressing wages (Rioja, Valev, and Wilske 2006).

Other studies provide original data and analysis at the state level. Again, these studies are all different: some estimate the overall economic impact, some assess the costs and benefits of a rising Latino population, while others are simply economic and labor market case studies of states and localities with rising immigration. For South Carolina, the most relevant is the economic impact study conducted at the Kenan Institute at the University of North Carolina by Johnson and Kasarda (2006). The Kenan Institute study does not specifically address the impact of Hispanic immigration on the wage rates or the unemployment rates for the native workforce in North Carolina. Nevertheless, it does provide some specific insights into the effects of the Latino population in a neighboring state. Given its extremely rapid growth, immigration is an important economic issue in North Carolina, as is the case in South Carolina. North Carolina, in fact, was one state in which Kochhar (2005b pp. 29, 31) found that increased immigration in this state has a negative correlation with employment rates of native workers. Potentially, this could be explained by growth rate of the immigrant population exceeding the rate of job creation in the state.

Johnson and Kasarda's (2006) study found that Hispanics in North Carolina alone had a combined purchasing power of approximately $8.35 billion (after taxes) in 2004. They supported $2.4 billion in labor income from 89,600 spin-off jobs related to Hispanic spending in the state. Moreover, Johnson and Kasarda (2006) found that Hispanic immigrants contributed $756 million in direct and indirect tax contributions. At the same time, the cost to the state totaled $817 million because of increased use of health services ($299 million), K-12 education ($467 million), and law enforcement/corrections ($51 million). The bottom line is that the net cost of Hispanics in North Carolina amounted to $61,039,000, which equates to $102 net cost per Hispanic resident (Johnson and Kasarda 2006).

Another state report that is germane to understanding Latino immigrants' impact on South Carolina was undertaken by the Texas Comptroller (Strayhorn 2006). The report claims that it is the first "comprehensive financial analysis of the impact of undocumented immigrants on a state's budget and economy." It concludes that the 1.4 million undocumented immigrants in Texas add $17.7 billion to the gross state product. It also calculates that undocumented immigrants contribute $1.58 billion in state revenues, more than the $1.16 billion in state service costs. Among major expenses, education was the highest, followed by incarceration and health care. The state comptroller also estimated that local governments were hampered with $1.44 billion in uncompensated health care and law enforcement costs not covered by the state (in fiscal 2005). At the same time, the study found that local revenues from undocumented immigrants totaled $513 million. Thus, state revenues outstripped costs, but for local governments (and hospitals), the costs outweighed benefits.

Summary of Economic Analyses

Some economic studies, especially the work of Harvard economist George Borjas, find negative wage effects for native-born low-skilled workers. Not all researchers concur with his conclusions, however. The primary difference among the studies is the size of the wage-rate impact from immigration, which ranges from Borjas and Katz's (2005) finding of 8.2 percent real wage decrease for high school dropouts to Card's (2005) conclusion that immigration is not correlated with the wages of dropouts. The jury, then, is still out. It is expected that contrasting results will follow, given that there is not one accepted method or data source.

As this report has emphasized, the impact of immigration and wages and employment is crucial to South Carolina—where much of the labor force has low skills. The actions of firms that seek to lower costs (and perhaps raise productivity) by importing low-skilled labor from Latin America would seem contrary to the often stated goal of raising per capita income in South Carolina. In theory, according to simple supply and demand for labor, an influx of low-skilled immigrant labor could cause wages of existing low-skilled workers to decrease. Alternatively, the labor force participation rate for native workers could decrease because of immigration of unskilled workers. That is, some low-skilled native workers may choose to leave the workforce if the wage would leave them impoverished, at least by U.S. standards.

The consensus of economics literature concludes that immigration does not adversely affect the U.S. economy as a whole; rather it provides many benefits. More output may be produced and services offered than would be possible without immigrant labor. Direct benefits include higher profits for firms and an increased standard of living for skilled, educated labor. Even so, state and local governments may experience higher costs than revenues. State studies have uncovered net fiscal costs of a growing Hispanic population (examining the overall population in North Carolina and just the undocumented in the Texas case).

Labor Market Implications of a Rising Latino Work Force in the South Carolina

Since the 1990s Latino immigrant labor has spread across a variety of industries and occupations in South Carolina. Like many states, Latino immigrant labor first appeared in agriculture. Until the late 1990s, there was not much visible presence of Latinos in the workforce in the state. Since 2000, this new face of the labor force has been one of the most remarkable aspects of communities. Yet, as this study has pointed out, the growing Latino work force (and the population in general) is not tracked accurately. It makes sense, nevertheless, to analyze the best available empirical evidence on wage and employment trends.

This section examines the potential labor market effects of the growing Latino work force in South Carolina, along with poverty trends. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, South Carolina is a state with relatively low per capita income (about 82 percent of the U.S. average) and a large, low-skill labor force. A significant segment of the population must engage in low-skill employment, given their low educational attainment. Extending the work done at the national level, this study seeks to uncover specific, significant trends in the South Carolina labor market (employment and wages) in the recent period of Latino population growth. Previous work on Latino immigration and population growth has not closely analyzed South Carolina. In the following, special emphasis will be placed on wage and employment trends among different racial and ethnic groups. This section will highlight

the industries and occupations that have been most affected by immigration.

Data Sources

The data for tables and charts presented here are drawn from the U.S. Census, the American Community Survey, and the USC survey of documented and undocumented Latinos in South Carolina. The American Community Survey (ACS) covers many employment, wage, and poverty characteristics at the state level. Beginning in 2005, the ACS sample expanded to include all counties and county-equivalents in the United States, and all *municipios* in Puerto Rico (PR). The sampling frame for the ACS is created from the Master Address File (MAF), maintained by the U.S. Census Bureau. For 2005 numbers presented in this chapter, the tabulations are compiled from the public-use microdata sample (PUMS), based on a subset of the 2005 American Community Survey sample. Public use microdata samples are extracts from the confidential data, taken in a manner that avoids disclosure of information about households or individuals. These files offer the precision of U.S. Census data collection techniques and sample sizes larger than would be feasible in most independent sample surveys. Note that estimates from the 2005 ACS PUMS file compiled for this study may be different from the previously released and published ACS estimates.

This analysis will examine economic differences among Latinos, Blacks, and Whites for the state as a whole and then at the local level. At the local level, there are varying trends in employment, the unemployment rate, earnings, and poverty status. The 2005 U.S. Census PUMA data are broken down into 23 local districts in South Carolina. These districts are either large counties or county groups.

Trends in South Carolina Earnings and Employment

The analysis begins by examining employment and earnings trends from 2000 through 2005, based on the special ACS tabulations from the PUMS data base (2005) and 2000 U.S. Census data. This is an important time of rapid growth in the Latino labor force in South Carolina. The period began with the U.S. and South Carolina economies entering a recession (bottoming out in 2001-02), followed by an economic expansion from 2003-05. Employment growth was at first sluggish, but picked up substantially during 2004 and 2005. While manufacturing employment remained stagnant during this whole period, a major contributor to the expansion was the construction sector in South Carolina, as was the case around the country.

Our analysis concentrates on full-time workers. Full-time, year-round workers consist of people 16 years old and over who usually worked 35 hours or more per week for 50 to 52 weeks. From 2000 through 2005, the full-time labor force in South Carolina grew 0.7 percent to 1,310,639, according to U.S Census and ACS records. Overall, White full-time employment actually declined by two percent to 937,648, while Black full-time employment grew 5.9 percent to reach 325,550. According the U.S. Census, Hispanic full-time employment swelled by 70.8 percent to 46,928. The highest growth came from foreign-born Mexican full-time workers: 104.5 percent. The official U.S. Census clearly does not pick up all growth in the Hispanic labor force.

The U.S. Census and ACS data provide detail on earnings trends for South Carolina. Earnings are defined as the sum of wage or salary income and net income from self-employment. Earnings represent the amount of income received regularly for people 16 years old and over, before deductions for personal income

taxes, Social Security, bond purchases, union dues, Medicare, etc.

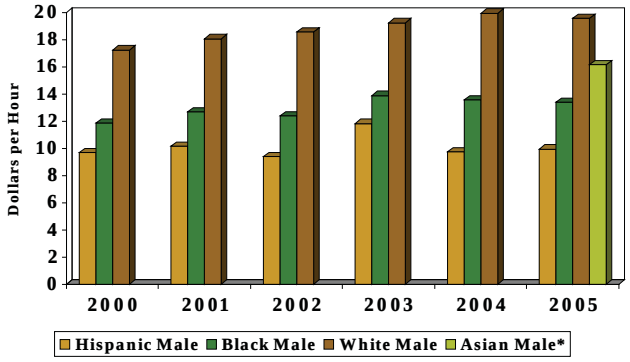
Normally, we would expect earnings to rise as the economy prospers. Was this true during the recent wave of economic growth in South Carolina? Table 26 reveals an astounding feature of the South Carolina economy during 2000-2005: real (or inflation-adjusted) median earnings for many full-time workers declined. Taken as a whole, real wages in South Carolina declined 3.1 percent. Note that the negative trend only emerges once inflation is factored into the reported nominal earnings for South Carolina full-time workers. Yet even after we account for inflation, the median wage only exhibits positive growth for White South Carolina workers. Even then, the 1.4 percent real earnings growth from 2000-2005 is surprisingly low. For Blacks, the inflation-adjusted earnings of full-time workers eroded by 1.2 percent. For Hispanics (U.S. Census definition), real median earnings plummeted by 9.6 percent. Note also in Table 26 that Black earnings are much closer to Hispanic earnings than White earnings. This may reflect skill levels, education, and long-standing discrimination in the labor market.

A different perspective on earnings for full-time workers in South Carolina is shown in Figures 2 and 3. For Hispanics, Blacks, Whites, and Asian (2005 only), the charts give the average annual hourly wages for

Table 26. Median Earnings in South Carolina (Full-Time, Year-Round Workers)

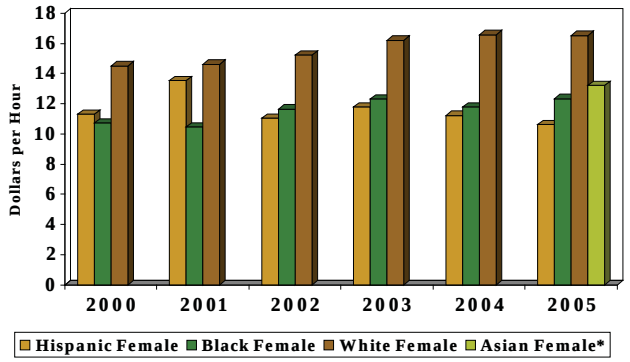
	Nominal Values			2005	
	2000	2005	*Percentage Growth*	Deflated to 2000	*Percentage Growth*
Hispanic	$20,672	$21,199	*2.6%*	$18,692	*-9.6%*
Black	$22,739	$25,480	*12.1%*	$22,467	*-1.2%*
White	$31,008	$35,672	*15.0%*	$31,454	*1.4%*
All	$28,941	$31,799	*9.9%*	$28,039	*-3.1%*

Figure 2. S.C. Average Hourly Wages (Male)



*Not enough data gathered before 2005 to estimate Asian wages.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Figure 3. S.C. Average Hourly Wages (Female)



*Not enough data gathered before 2005 to estimate Asian wages.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

males (Figure 2) and females (Figure 3) from 2000-2005.

Again, the surprise is how little progress Black workers made during the economic expansion, at least in contrast with White workers. Hispanic workers fare even worse, with significant declines in real hourly wages for both males and females.

It appears that South Carolina added low-wage Hispanic workers to the labor force at a time when this population spread across the state. Many of the Hispanic workers were willing to work for lower wages and thus the median wage fell. It is not possible to determine precisely what effect this growth in low-wage Hispanic labor had on Black earnings, for there are undoubtedly many causes for the observed wage stagnation among African-Americans. Still, White full-time workers, both male and female, have continued to enjoy increases in real earnings, according to the most recent available data.

The 2006-2007 USC survey of Latinos used throughout this study can help us better understand the economic situation. As Table 27 indicates, most Latinos are young (average 32.9 years), relatively new to the state (less than five years), have relatively low educational attainment—less than 10 years of education.

Table 28 gives the average annual earnings, along with savings and remittances (money sent back to the home country) from the USC survey. Note there is a large standard deviation, which means some workers make considerably more than others. Table 28 also shows that the average savings is surprisingly high, with a large standard deviation, as is the amount of money sent back to the home country. For this reason, we focus much of our analysis on median, not average, wages.

To have a better sense of Latino earnings and compare the USC survey results with the Census data, we calculate the median across the sample. For 440 respondents reporting annual earnings, the median is $20,400. This figure falls below the $21,199 earnings of full-time workers (in 2005) reported in the U.S. Census PUMS data. Recall, however, the USC survey sampled many undocumented workers and may include those not working full-time.

A clearer picture of South Carolina work force trends can be seen in specific industries where the Latino labor force growth has been most pronounced. Particularly note-

Table 27. Age, Education, Years in South Carolina and the United States (means and standard deviations) USC Survey

Characteristics	Mean	Standard Deviation
Age	32.9	10.8
Years of education	9.7	3.4
Years in the United States	7.9	8.1
Years in South Carolina	4.8	4.5

Table 28. Average Earnings, Savings, and Remittances per Year Socio-Demographic and Economic Profile of Latinos in South Carolina USC Survey

Characteristic	Mean	Standard Deviation
Annual Earnings (n=431)	$23,974.40	15,346.20
Annual Savings (n=137)	$5,384.96	4,950.39
Annual Remittances (n=357)	$4,352.50	4,800.95

worthy is construction's dominance, which accounts for 37.6 percent of Latino employment reported in the USC survey. Other generators, like the Professional category, include numerous, varied occupations. Even so, employment in this broad category totals less than half of those Latinos in South Carolina who report that they work in construction. Even restaurants and landscaping, often thought to be leading employers of Latinos, are eclipsed by construction, as Table 29 reveals. These results confirm that more than anything else, the 2000-2005 construction boom was a major pulling force, supporting family incomes and drawing new Latinos to South Carolina.

Table 29. Occupation/Industry Profile of Latinos in South Carolina
USC Survey

Characteristic	Number	*Percent*
Occupation/Industry (n=503)		
Construction	174	*37.6*
Professional, managerial	71	*15.3*
Restaurant	45	*9.7*
Landscaping	34	*7.3*
Service	34	*7.3*
Other manufacturing	24	*5.2*
Food processing	16	*3.5*
Mechanics	12	*2.6*
Education	11	*2.4*
Agricultural	8	*1.7*
Health care professional	5	*1.1*
Childcare	3	*0.7*
Other	9	*1.9*
Housewife, unemployed	17	*3.7*
Missing	40	-

Given the strong representation of Latinos in South Carolina's construction sector, it is worth examining the earnings trends in comparison with Black and White workers (see Table 30). According to ACS-U.S. Census data, real median earnings dropped 5.1 percent for full-time South Carolina workers. At the same time, Hispanic workers saw real wages drop 12.1 percent (as the number of construction workers expanded 181 percent). Black construction labor saw inflation-adjusted earnings fall 2.4 percent. It is also surprising to find that total Black employment sank 23.7 percent during the construction boom. Meanwhile, White construction employment grew 4.3 percent, but median earnings fell by more than for Black construction workers (See Table 30).

The USC survey found that the median annual wage for the 174 Latinos identified as working in construction is $21,840, higher than that reported in the ACS-U.S Census for 2005 ($18,549). In the survey, construction labor included painters, carpenters, roofers, electrical workers, and others who reported that they worked in construction trades.

After construction, the U.S. Census records the greatest numbers of Hispanics working in Animal Slaughtering (Table 30). For this industry, which includes poultry processing, employment grew overall as real wages fell: Hispanic employment increased by 12.6 percent between 2000-2005, while real annual median earnings for full-time workers declined 18.9 percent. By 2005, meanwhile, Black workers saw jobs dramatically drop 43.4 percent when compared with 2000. In this case, however, the median earnings for the remaining Black workers retained in the Animal Slaughtering industry rose 14.6 percent. Thus, it could be said the lack of employment opportunities, not falling wages, has been the trend in the sector. One could speculate the Black workers remaining in Animal Slaughtering were more highly skilled, while low-skill work went to Latino labor.

In the USC survey, food processing workers (including poultry slaughtering, vegetable packing, and meat packing) workers had a median wage of $15,600. This is higher than the

Table 30. Employment and Earnings for Industries Having the Largest Number of Hispanics

Construction

		2000	2005	*Percentage Growth*	Deflated to 2000	*Real Growth*
Hispanic	Earnings	$18,605	$18,549	*-0.3*	$16,356	-12.1%
	Number	5,131	14,422	*181.1%*		
Black	Earnings	$22,739	$25,174	*14.4%*	$22,197	-2.4%
	Number	18,625	14,213	*-23.7%*		
White	Earnings	$31,008	$31,799	2.6%	$28,039	-9.6%
	Number	91,112	95,005	*4.3%*		
All	Earnings	$28,424	$30,576	7.6%	$26,960	-5.1%
	Number	114,319	117,559	2.8%		

Manufacturing-Animal Slaughtering

		2000	2005	*Percentage Growth*	Deflated to 2000	*Real Growth*
Hispanic	Earnings	$15,504	$14,269	-8.0%	$12,582	-18.9%
	Number	994	1,119	*12.6%*		
Black	Earnings	$17,571	$22,830	29.9%	$20,130	14.6%
	Number	3,335	1,886	*-43.4%*		
White	Earnings	$25,840	$37,200	44.0%	$32,802	26.9%
	Number	2,093	1,111	*-46.9%*		
All	Earnings	$19,638	$22,422	14.2%	$19,771	0.7%
	Number	6,061	3,999	-34.0%		

Landscaping Services

		2000	2005	*Percentage Growth*	Deflated to 2000	*Real Growth*
Hispanic	Earnings	$16,331	$15,899	-2.6%	$14,019	-14.2%
	Number	1,004	1,674	*66.7%*		
Black	Earnings	$18,088	$18,549	2.6%	$16,356	-9.6%
	Number	1,409	3,722	*164.2%*		
White	Earnings	$23,773	$25,480	7.2%	$22,467	-5.5%
	Number	6,643	6,542	*-1.5%*		
All	Earnings	$20,672	$19,568	-5.3%	$17,255	-16.5%
	Number	2,904	11,126	283.1%		

U.S. Census median wage ($14,269) for Animal Slaughtering.

The U.S. Census data reveal that the third-largest sector employing Hispanics is Landscaping Services (see Table 30). From 2000-2005, employment surged. In this case, a different picture emerges once the data are broken into different groups. Many Hispanics found full-time jobs over the period in Landscaping Services (rising 66.7 percent), although again, real median earnings fell (14.2 percent). For Blacks, Landscaping Service employment grew over the period (unlike the other two sectors), but real earnings fell 9.6 percent. For Whites working in Landscaping Services, employment and earnings declined by 1.5 percent and 5.3 percent, respectively.

The USC survey included 34 Latino workers in South Carolina in landscaping (including gardeners). In this case the median wage is $17,750.

Table 31. Motor Vehicles and Motor Vehicle Equipment

		2000	2005	*Percent Growth*	Deflated to 2000	*Real Growth*
Hispanic	Earnings	$25,600	$25,000	*-2.3%*	$21,368	*-16.5%*
	Number	236	215	*-8.9%*		
Black	Earnings	$25,000	$40,000	*60.0%*	$34,188	*36.8%*
	Number	6,414	10,463	*63.1%*		
White	Earnings	$34,900	$45,000	*28.9%*	$38,462	*10.2%*
	Number	14,762	16,106	*9.1%*		

So, for each of the three largest sectors with an Hispanic work force in South Carolina, Blacks either lost jobs, saw earnings decline, or both (as in Construction). In contrast to the deterioration of employment and earnings in sectors with a large Hispanic presence, Blacks did make significant employment and wage gains from 2000-2005. Especially pronounced was the improvements found in the job market for the Motor Vehicle and Motor Vehicle Equipment industry (see Table 31). This important manufacturing backbone of the South Carolina economy supported a 63.1 percent increase in Black full-time employment—and the total number of workers is almost 10,500 (still smaller than Construction, but far larger than Animal Slaughtering and Landscape Services). Blacks also witnessed a dramatic rise in real earnings: 36.8 percent. Whites also fared well, both in earning and employment. But Hispanics have only a minor presence in Motor Vehicle and Motor Vehicle Equipment. In fact, employment and median earnings both fell from 2000-2005.

Overall, the labor market analysis presented in this study suggests that Blacks are losing ground in industries with a large, growing Hispanic work force. Overall, real earnings have declined, but they have been falling even in sectors with high labor demand at the time like Construction. Blacks have lost employment in Construction, despite a record expansion in activity. The good news is that Blacks have made notable progress in the Motor Vehicle and Motor Vehicle Equipment sector, which was also expanding during 2000-2005.

Poverty Trends

Next we turn to examine changes in South Carolina poverty status. The U.S. Census Bureau data reported for the state is based on the federal government's official poverty definition. To determine a person's poverty status, one compares the person's total family income with the poverty threshold appropriate for that person's family size and composition (see table below). If the total income of that person's family is less than the threshold appropriate for that family, then the person is considered poor, together with every member of his or her family. If a person is not living with anyone related by birth, marriage, or adoption, then the person's own income is compared with his or her poverty threshold.

Consider first the poverty differences among Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites. Based on the PUMS data, the most up-to-date trends are shown in Table 32. Since Hispanics have seen

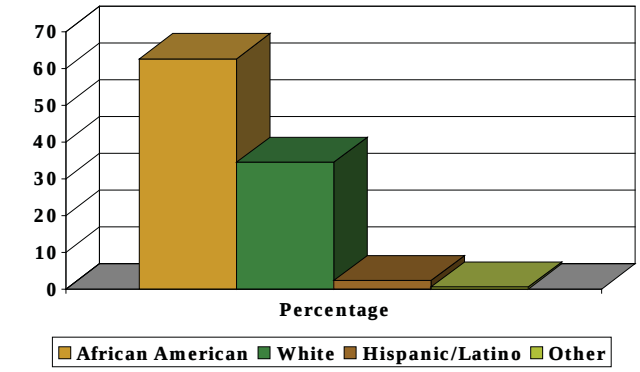
Table 32. South Carolina Poverty Status (Percentage Below Poverty level)

	2000	2005
Hispanic	24.8%	25.7%
Blacks	26.2%	25.1%
Whites	8.6%	9.3%
Noncitizens	24.9%	22.6%
Hispanic & Noncitizen	33.8%	27.5%
All	14.1%	14.3%

Source: PUMS data base

real earnings fall from 2000 to 2005, we would expect poverty status may have been adversely affected. In fact, for the Hispanic population as a whole, the poverty rate edged up from 24.8 percent to 25.7 percent. At the same time, the Black poverty status in South Carolina improved by a small margin, falling from 26.2 percent in 2000 to 25.1 percent in 2005. Note that the poverty rates are almost identical for Black and Hispanics in South Carolina. Whites, on the other hand, exhibit a much smaller poverty rate: 9.3 percent. Even so, the rate rose during the period, despite the generally healthy economy.

Figure 4. South Carolina Percentage of Food Stamp Recipients by Race/Ethnicity
SC Department of Social Services
May 2007



Source: S.C. Department of Social Services, 2007

The poverty data reported so far are based on tabulations of the U.S. Census and the most current PUMS data, as described earlier in this chapter. The data can differ from earlier U.S. Census reports. Yet it is also worth reviewing the published records of the American Community Survey (as reported elsewhere in this study). The published 2005 ACS data show that 29 percent of all Latinos, for whom poverty status was determined, lived below poverty. This percentage is again close to the percent of Blacks, 27 percent, and about three times higher than the percentage of Whites living below poverty: 10 percent. While the poverty rates are higher than those calculated from the PUMS data, one trend is consistent: South Carolina's Hispanics and Blacks experience poverty at rates three times higher than Whites.

Table 33. Income in the Past 12 Months Below Poverty Level
Hispanic or Latino, Black Alone or White Alone Population for Whom Poverty Status is Determined
American Community Survey, 2005

Population below poverty	Latinos		Blacks		Whites	
by age	Number	*Percent*	Number	*Percent*	Number	*Percent*
Total population for whom poverty status is known	133,875	--	1,169,967	--	2,766,890	--
Income in the past 12 months below poverty level	38,862	*100.00*	315,090	*100.00*	282,728	*100.00*
Under 5 years	7,343	*18.90*	41,480	*13.16*	25,350	*8.97*
5 years	1,106	*2.85*	8,613	*2.73*	4,045	*1.43*
6 to 11 years	4,810	*12.38*	42,374	*13.45*	24,660	*8.72*
12 to 17 years	4,184	*10.77*	38,004	*12.06*	25,754	*9.11*
18 to 64 years	21,118	*54.34*	159,203	*50.53*	170,704	*60.38*
65 to 74 years	0	*0.00*	13,321	*4.23*	15,017	*5.31*
75 years and over	301	*0.77*	12,095	*3.84*	17,198	*6.08*

Table 34. Receipt of Food Stamps in the Past 12 Months
Households with a Householder Who is Hispanic or Latino, Black Alone, or White Alone
American Community Survey, 2005

Households	Latinos		Black		White	
	Number	*Percent*	Number	*Percent*	Number	*Percent*
Total	38,694	*100.00*	439,937	*100.00*	1,125,901	*100.00*
Household received Food Stamps in the past 12 months	3,228	*8.34*	101,250	*23.01*	55,900	*4.96*
Household did not receive Food Stamps in the past 12 months	35,466	*91.66*	338,687	*76.99*	1,070,001	*95.04*

However, Hispanics living in poverty are a small share of South Carolina's poor: only 12 percent of the population of Blacks living in poverty and about 14 percent of Whites living in poverty. This means that, in services, Hispanics take only about one-eighth of the resources targeted to impoverished Whites or Blacks.

Next, consider Table 34 showing households receiving food stamps, even though 29 percent of Hispanics live below poverty line, only 8 percent receive food stamps, compared with 23 percent of Blacks who receive food stamps. Again, comparing the numbers of Hispanics, Blacks and Whites, of all individuals receiving food stamps, Hispanics amount to only 2 percent, Blacks to 63 percent and Whites to 35 percent.

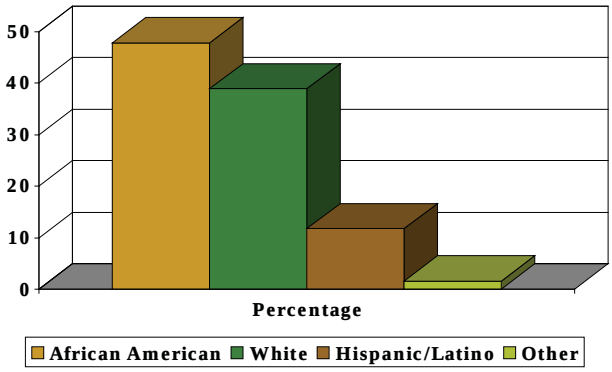
These data support state records. According to the S.C. Department of Social Services (DSS), for May 2007, Hispanics represented only 2.3 percent of those receiving food stamps in the state, while Blacks represented 62.6 percent and Whites made up 34.5 percent.

Further, Hispanics exhibit much lower levels of any recorded disability compared with Whites and Blacks (see Table 35). The proportion of Hispanics with disabilities of the civilian population, 16 to 64 years of age, is 8 percent, while the corresponding propor-

Table 35. Disability Status
Civilian Latino Population, 16 to 64 Years
American Community Survey, 2005

Population	Number	*Percent*
Total:	91,533	*100.00*
With any disability:	7,679	*8.39*
Male:	3,937	
16 to 34 years:	1,407	
Employed	1,144	
Not employed	263	
35 to 64 years:	2,530	
Employed	1,197	
Not employed	1,333	
Female:	3,742	
16 to 34 years:	1,858	
Employed	879	
Not employed	979	
35 to 64 years:	1,884	
Employed	564	
Not employed	1,320	
No disability:	83,854	*91.61*
Male:	49,211	
16 to 34 years:	30,631	
Employed	26,179	
Not employed	4,452	
35 to 64 years:	18,580	
Employed	17,010	
Not employed	1,570	
Female:	34,643	
16 to 34 years:	20,407	
Employed	9,856	
Not employed	10,551	
35 to 64 years:	14,236	
Employed	9,128	
Not employed	5,108	

Figure 5. S.C. Percentage of Recipients of Women, Infant and Children (WIC) Services by Race/Ethnicity FY 06 (July 1, 2005 to June 30, 2006)



Source: SC Department of Health and Environmental Control (DHEC)
Note: A total of 201,837 unduplicated women, infants and children participated in WIC during FY06 statewide

tion among the White civilian population of the same age is 14 percent, and 18 percent for Blacks.

Finally, the number of Hispanic women who took advantage of DSS's Women, Infants and Children (WIC) program in 2005-2006 (last available data) proved far lower than Black or White residents of the state. In order to be eligible for the program, families must demonstrate that they are residents of South Carolina, that their income falls below 185 percent of the poverty level, and that they are certified as being at "nutritional risk" by a qualified professional. Citizenship and immigration status are not considered when eligibility for the program is determined, and the WIC Program is the only social service program in the state for which this is the case. As Figure 5 reveals, almost 48 percent of WIC recipients were African-American, 39 percent were White, and almost 12 percent were categorized as Hispanic.

Trends on Local Areas

So far, this study has examined economic differences among Latinos, Black, and Whites for the state of South Carolina as a whole. At the local level, similar trends in employment, the unemployment rate, median earnings, and poverty status exist. The 2005 U.S. Census PUMA data are broken down into 23 local districts in South Carolina, which are either large counties or county groups. The following tables show the data for Blacks, Whites, and Hispanics in each of these local areas.

Table 36. Distribution of Civilian Labor Force by PUMA Districts (2005)

PUMA Districts in South Carolina	*All*	*Blacks*	*Hispanics*	*White*
Oconee, Pickens	86,096	5,610	2,328	79,217
Greenville	210,414	38,533	11,869	160,343
Spartanburg	131,613	27,765	5,205	97,329
Cherokee, Chester, Union	54,340	14,512	486	38,707
York	100,829	18,336	3,145	79,163
Fairfield, Laurens, Newberry	58,039	19,638	2,239	36,848
Anderson	83,567	12,548	1,336	69,771
Abbeville, Edgefield, Greenwood, McCormick, Saluda	72,002	21,353	5,044	46,056
Aiken	78,031	21,896	2,228	53,820
Lexington (part)	123,798	17,037	4,257	100,860
Lexington (part), Richland (part)	46,091	17,545	1,078	25,798
Richland (part)	119,259	55,262	5,098	59,316
Chesterfield, Kershaw, Lancaster, Lee	84,393	24,600	3,396	56,367
Darlington, Dillon, Marlboro	52,670	21262	933	30,020
Horry	116,379	16,678	4,232	95,346
Florence, Marion	81,015	32,715	1,671	46,135
Sumter	43,967	19,913	1,565	22,964
Allendale, Bamberg, Barnwell, Calhoun, Hampton, Orangeburg	77,373	42,976	1,320	32,678
Beaufort, Jasper	71,619	16,157	8,281	50,768
Colleton, Dorchester	75,791	20,172	2,097	53,714
Charleston	166,033	49,427	4,384	110,596
Berkeley	71,096	19,829	2,171	47,554
Clarendon, Georgetown, Williamsburg	54,985	25,243	942	28,887

Source: PUMS data base

Table 37. Distribution of Unemployment and Unemployment Rate by PUMA Districts (2005)

PUMA Districts in South Carolina	*All*		*Blacks*		*Hispanics*		*White*	
	Number	*Rate*	*Number*	*Rate*	*Number*	*Rate*	*Number*	*Rate*
Oconee, Pickens	4,887	5.7%	105	1.9%	0	0.0%	4,646	5.9%
Greenville	15,243	7.2%	6,401	16.6%	1,042	8.8%	7,336	4.6%
Spartanburg	11,094	8.4%	4,931	17.8%	980	18.8%	5,336	5.5%
Cherokee, Chester, Union	4,697	8.6%	2,424	16.7%	0	0.0%	2,242	5.8%
York	9,046	9.0%	3,061	16.7%	290	9.2%	5,358	6.8%
Fairfield, Laurens, Newberry	4,218	7.3%	2,039	10.4%	40	1.8%	2,115	5.7%
Anderson	7,625	9.1%	1,931	15.4%	106	7.9%	5,576	8.0%
Abbeville, Edgefield, Greenwood, McCormick, Saluda	7,994	11.1%	4,694	22.0%	493	9.8%	2,807	6.1%
Aiken	6,134	7.9%	3,204	14.6%	532	23.9%	2,440	4.5%
Lexington (part)	6,868	5.5%	2,654	15.6%	71	1.7%	3,942	3.9%
Lexington (part), Richland (part)	3,696	8.0%	2,137	12.2%	138	12.8%	1,109	4.3%
Richland (part)	6,627	5.6%	4,316	7.8%	400	7.8%	2,202	3.7%
Chesterfield, Kershaw, Lancaster, Lee	9,138	10.8%	5,357	21.8%	0	0.0%	3,781	6.7%
Darlington, Dillon, Marlboro	7,014	13.3%	3,415	16.1%	122	13.1%	2,959	9.9%
Horry	6,717	5.8%	1,785	10.7%	86	2.0%	4,932	5.2%
Florence, Marion	6,662	8.2%	4,091	12.5%	101	6.0%	2,182	4.7%
Sumter	5,629	12.8%	3,734	18.8%	40	2.6%	1,807	7.9%
Allendale, Bamberg, Barnwell, Calhoun, Hampton, Orangeburg	9,386	12.1%	7,129	16.6%	264	20.0%	1,911	5.8%
Beaufort, Jasper	3,981	5.6%	1,185	7.3%	910	11.0%	2,025	4.0%
Colleton, Dorchester	5,913	7.8%	2,753	13.6%	174	8.3%	2,988	5.6%
Charleston	9,071	5.5%	4,336	8.8%	242	5.5%	4,131	3.7%
Berkeley	4,105	5.8%	1,362	6.9%	90	4.1%	2,454	5.2%
Clarendon, Georgetown, Williamsburg	3,781	6.9%	2,554	10.1%	26	2.8%	1,201	4.2%

Source: PUMS data base

Table 38. Median Income for Full-time, Year-round Workers by PUMA Districts (2005)

PUMA Districts in South Carolina	*All Workers*		*Black Workers*		*Hispanic Workers*		*White Workers*	
	N	*Median*	*N*	*Median*	*N*	*Median*	*N*	*Median*
Oconee, Pickens	51,934	$31,595	4,114	$25,480	1,075	$16,307	46,622	$32,614
Greenville	129,151	$35,162	21,260	$28,537	7,298	$18,345	100,070	$38,729
Spartanburg	85,924	$32,614	17,184	$30,576	3,100	$21,199	64,164	$34,652
Cherokee, Chester, Union	33,310	$30,576	6,928	$27,518	431	$28,537	25,508	$31,595
York	61,618	$36,181	9,671	$25,480	1,538	$30,576	50,081	$40,768
Fairfield, Laurens, Newberry	36,447	$29,557	12,159	$23,441	1,783	$21,403	23,366	$33,124
Anderson	52,931	$32,614	7,836	$24,970	877	$15,288	44,573	$35,672
Abbeville, Edgefield, Greenwood, McCormick, Saluda	41,867	$28,537	10,392	$24,053	2,472	$19,874	29,301	$33,633
Aiken	44,909	$36,997	10,626	$26,499	877	$21,403	33,644	$40,768
Lexington (part)	83,274	$33,633	9,690	$24,461	3,234	$17,530	69,436	$35,672
Lexington (part), Richland (part)	27,867	$39,748	9,386	$30,270	465	$24,461	17,113	$45,864
Richland (part)	81,953	$35,672	36,924	$30,576	2,722	$25,480	41,849	$43,316
Chesterfield, Kershaw, Lancaster, Lee	52,641	$30,576	14,159	$24,461	2,383	$27,518	36,258	$34,041
Darlington, Dillon, Marlboro	32,480	$27,518	10,916	$21,403	418	$30,576	21,012	$32,308
Horry	69,326	$28,537	8,788	$25,582	2,594	$23,441	58,391	$28,537
Florence, Marion	53,766	$28,537	18,852	$22,422	1,300	$15,288	33,488	$32,614
Sumter	29,947	$27,518	12,220	$21,913	1,269	$27,314	16,915	$35,366
Allendale, Bamberg, Barnwell, Calhoun, Hampton, Orangeburg	48,964	$26,499	25,484	$25,174	563	$19,568	22,606	$31,799
Beaufort, Jasper	49,391	$30,576	11,147	$24,053	5,559	$21,403	35,535	$35,672
Colleton, Dorchester	53,140	$30,576	13,181	$21,403	1,990	$24,461	38,826	$35,672
Charleston	108,723	$35,672	27,658	$26,499	2,534	$18,345	78,071	$42,806
Berkeley	47,689	$33,633	11,674	$30,576	1,778	$40,768	33,231	$35,672
Clarendon, Georgetown, Williamsburg	33,387	$26,499	15,301	$19,365	668	$18,345	17,589	$30,576

Source: PUMS data base

Table 39. Percentage of Population Below Poverty Level by PUMA Districts (2005)

PUMA Districts in South Carolina	*All*	*Blacks*	*Hispanics*	*White*
Oconee, Pickens	9.2%	13.2%	15.3%	8.6%
Greenville	11.4%	24.8%	22.9%	7.8%
Spartanburg	15.5%	27.8%	31.4%	11.6%
Cherokee, Chester, Union	14.8%	27.7%	3.1%	9.5%
York	11.3%	18.9%	39.3%	9.1%
Fairfield, Laurens, Newberry	14.9%	19.9%	22.5%	11.8%
Anderson	16.0%	31.5%	46.6%	12.7%
Abbeville, Edgefield, Greenwood, McCormick, Saluda	17.7%	29.0%	44.8%	9.4%
Aiken	14.5%	27.3%	45.9%	8.9%
Lexington (part)	11.5%	36.6%	9.0%	7.0%
Lexington (part), Richland (part)	20.3%	28.6%	24.1%	11.3%
Richland (part)	9.6%	15.1%	11.1%	4.2%
Chesterfield, Kershaw, Lancaster, Lee	17.2%	29.8%	14.6%	11.3%
Darlington, Dillon, Marlboro	21.0%	31.4%	50.2%	11.2%
Horry	13.8%	22.4%	37.8%	11.6%
Florence, Marion	16.8%	29.9%	7.4%	5.9%
Sumter	15.3%	24.6%	0.0%	7.2%
Allendale, Bamberg, Barnwell, Calhoun, Hampton, Orangeburg	22.5%	31.4%	56.8%	9.5%
Beaufort, Jasper	11.4%	16.4%	18.9%	8.9%
Colleton, Dorchester	11.6%	16.3%	21.3%	9.4%
Charleston	13.9%	24.6%	40.2%	8.8%
Berkeley	12.6%	16.4%	0.9%	10.7%
Clarendon, Georgetown, Williamsburg	18.5%	27.3%	36.8%	9.9%

Source: PUMS data base

ConclusionLabor and Economic Effects

This chapter examined the economic dimensions of the rising Latino (Hispanic) population in South Carolina. We began with a discussion of the root causes, emphasizing that globalization lies behind the increased immigration. As a result of economic integration, economic restructuring has led to a much larger Latino population in South Carolina. As is the case elsewhere in the United States, some South Carolina industries import low-cost, high-productivity immigrant labor as part of firm competitive strategy. The forces *pulling* Latino immigrants to South Carolina (as elsewhere) are straightforward: employment opportunities and the prospect of higher income. The immigrants are also *pushed* to travel thousands of miles by unfavorable and declining prospects in many Latin American communities (many in rural areas). In immigrant-sending communities of Latin America, income from employment in the United States is increasingly perceived as a solution to endemic poverty and economic instability.

This trend is likely to continue, since recent immigrants appear to have a strong desire to work in the United States. Indeed, the Latino work force is known to be highly productive. For businesses, high productivity combined with low wages spells profits.

The focus of the chapter has been on issues that could affect the standard of living for South Carolinians, including trends in earnings and poverty. We reviewed the economic debate over immigration that has centered around the effects of adding low-skill labor to the U.S. economy. The debate over immigrants' effect on the domestic labor force can be summarized as follows. Above all, it should be recognized that even the basic facts are not settled, as can be seen by reviewing the work of labor market economists. In a series of influential papers, Harvard economist George Borjas and colleagues have alleged that the stepped-up supply of lower-skill workers has led to falling wages for domestic workers (especially African-Americans), a decrease in employment rates, and even a rise in incarceration (given a lack of job opportunities). At the same time, other economic researchers uncover far less of a deleterious impact from immigration on U.S. wages and other economic variables.

Ultimately, the impact of increased immigration on the domestic labor force comes down to determining whether immigrants bring different skills and have different job preferences compared with U.S. workers. Potentially, immigrants can make U.S. workers more productive if they complement rather than substitute for domestic labor. To be sure, some Latin American immigrant labor will substitute for low-skilled domestic workers, but there may be benefits for other workers. Above all, firms benefit by hiring lower-cost, high-productivity immigrant labor.

Furchtgott-Roth (2006) succinctly summarized the nuanced argument over labor market effects:

> To take a simple example, if a construction firm cannot find plasterers or stucco masons, an occupation overwhelmingly performed by foreign-born workers, it can do fewer jobs than a firm that had these immigrants on the payroll. With fewer jobs, employment of both immigrants and native-born Americans declines.
>
> Of course, some might say that the construction firm just needs to offer more money to plasterers and stucco masons, and then more native-born Americans would take the jobs. But since the price would be higher, fewer projects would be completed. So employment for native-born Americans could decline.

The point is that even in construction, it is hard to make definitive conclusions about the economic and labor market impacts.

No doubt construction has been the sector most responsible for enticing immigrants to work in South Carolina. This industry witnessed the largest increase in Latino workers by far. Yet Black construction employment fell even as residential and non-residential building was booming across the state. Moreover, real wages fell for construction labor during this expansion, especially for Latinos. Still, it could be argued, as it has in North Carolina (Johnson and Kasarda 2006), that the construction activity increased beyond what would have occurred without an influx of immigrant workers. Indeed, Kasarda and Johnson's Keenan School study suggests that without Hispanic labor, the output of North Carolina's construction industry would be significantly lower, while the state's total private-sector wage bill would be almost $2 billion higher.

Beyond construction, the entry of Latinos into the South Carolina economy has had varied effects. By analyzing recent trends, it appears that median wages for Latinos have, in fact, been the most negatively impacted. Moreover, we have seen that median real wages have fallen for Black workers from 2000-2005, even as the economy expanded. As wages for full-time workers have stagnated or declined, however, the poverty rate has not worsened—Hispanics have about the same poverty rate as Blacks, which is to say high—25-29 percent.

Overall, it is not possible to draw sweeping generalizations about the labor market and economic effects during this period of stepped-up immigration. For native Black workers, just as for native White workers, one could conclude that the a strong, growing economy in South Carolina could absorb new entrants from Latin America, and at the same time provide opportunities for the native work force. This can be seen in the automotive sector, which more than any other, has helped elevate Black workers into the middle-class in South Carolina in the recent period.

While real median wages fell for many South Carolinians from 2000-2005, the continuing prosperity through 2007 may lift wages. That can only be determined once U.S Census data are released. Nonetheless, the USC survey did reveal that overall annual earnings for Latinos totaled $20,400. This figure falls below the $21,199 earnings of full-time workers. In either case, however, Latino earnings are far below the norm for South Carolina.

Chapter 6. Conclusions and Recommendations

In 1924, South Carolina Senator Ellison DuRant Smith argued before the U.S Congress that "I think that we have sufficient stock in America now for us to shut the door, Americanize what we have, and save the resources of America for the natural increase of our population. . . . We ought to Americanize our factories and our vast material resources, so that we can make each contribute to the other and have an abundance for us under the form of the government laid down by our fathers. . . ." (Smith 1924). In 2007, the public has again engaged in an often emotional debate about immigration in the United States, but this time about Latinos, not Europeans flooding across our borders.

A dispassionate analysis of the Latino population and recent immigration is long overdue. This study reviewed the critical issues associated with the Hispanic/Latino immigrant population. It may be that the public sector will bear additional costs associated with rising immigration. As more families follow immigrant workers and settle in the state, the public sector will have to fund education, health care, and other costs. At the same time, it could be argued that the growing population of workers has enhanced the state economy by providing a highly productive labor force, especially for industries such as construction. Another benefit is the buying power of Latinos in the state, estimated at $4.4 billion for those of Mexican origin alone in S.C. in 2006 (Woodward 2006). As the complexion of the population changes, the Palmetto State must continue to monitor and assess the implications of Latino immigrants. Ultimately, South Carolina must devise appropriate public policies and fund the necessary services that will enable the private-sector economy to prosper from immigration and to enhance the lives of all South Carolinians.

Among the recommendations of this report for state and local policymakers is the suggestion that strong efforts should be undertaken to educate Latinos in South Carolina regarding the importance of responding to Census questionnaires so that complete, accurate data on this population can be obtained. The many Latino organizations around the state could be enlisted in this educational effort. Further, given the numbers of first-generation Latino immigrants who do not yet speak English, public signage in South Carolina should be made available in both Spanish and English. Also, additional safe, affordable housing should become a priority for the growing low-income population in the state.

At the local level, higher costs will be expected as enrollment increases in K-12 education. Given the sudden and rapid increase in enrollment of children from Latino immigrant families, the South Carolina public school system has had little time to respond, yet has worked to develop programs to support newcomer students. Currently, however, there is no office in the State Department of Education that coordinates efforts to support Hispanic students or that generates reports that bring together statistics on Latino immigrant student enrollment and achievement, aside from specific reports such as annual reports of Adequate Yearly Progress performance by sub-groups, including Hispanic and LEP subgroups.

Centralized data collection and analysis can assist educators in South Carolina in more accurately assessing and responding to the needs of Latino immigrant students. Much can be learned from the neighboring states of North Carolina and Georgia, whose Latino populations are far larger and have been in place longer. South Carolina's educational policy makers should make every effort to gain information about these states' challenges and successes in dealing with Latino immigrant children.

Furthermore, additional data are needed to provide a full picture of the opportunities and challenges presented by this sudden increase of Latino families served by the South Carolina school system. For example, focus group interviews with teachers, administrators, students, and parents could provide much-needed information to substantiate reports of ethnic divisions, racism, and alienation in the classroom, challenges in communication between schools and families, and other issues. Such data collection can also focus on recommendations for addressing these issues.

It is also important to consider how issues faced by the majority of Latino immigrant families may be shared by children of other demographic groups; for example, researchers often cite poverty as a common factor in school dropout rates across ethnic groups (Driscoll, 1999; Fry 2003). Thus any investigations regarding Latino immigrant students should seek to inform practice and policy regarding other demographic groups, as well.

Additionally, it is important to examine the nature of school readiness for all immigrating students. For example, some students come to South Carolina with a strong educational background and are highly literate in their native language, while others arrive with minimal formal schooling and poor literacy skills. An analysis of the nature of school preparation and readiness can assist in developing effective programs.

Finally, regarding educational issues, it is important to build on research that examines conditions leading to low graduation rates among ethnic minority groups in South Carolina. While research suggests that lack of English language proficiency contributes to the drop-out rate among Latino students (Fry, 2003), there are many other factors shared by ethnic minority groups that can inform practice and policy for retaining students through graduation (Driscoll, 1999). It is important to determine what factors contribute to school completion for Latino students that may be unique as well as those that are shared by African-American and American Indian students. One way to address high drop-out rates is through teacher quality. An investigation into pre-service teacher education programs can reveal areas of strengths and need in terms of preparing future teachers, who are largely White, middle class, monolingual English speakers, to work effectively with an increasingly diverse student body. It is important for the state to support ample pre-service and in-service professional development programs for teachers and administrators that address best practices, including multicultural literacy and supporting English language learning across the content areas. Additionally, expanding efforts of schools and school districts to increase Spanish fluency among S.C. school teachers, administrators, and staff not only enlarges the knowledge of school personnel, it also fosters communication with Latino families.

In terms of health issues, we recommend that health care facilities maintain and share, to the extent possible under the law, data on health care costs for various racial and ethnic groups, especially any costs that may increase health care costs across the board. Such data would enhance existing records maintained by state agencies. Further, we recommend that

more research be undertaken to determine how health care facilities are accommodating the needs of Spanish-speaking limited English proficient (LEP) populations, for example related to interpretation services, Spanish language signage, and availability of written documents in Spanish. We need more information on the specific costs related to interpretation services for LEP populations and any funds provided by the federal government for such costs. How widespread and effective are existing interpreting and other language assistance services in the state? Further, hospital associations, DHEC, and other health-related groups working with LEP populations in South Carolina should collaborate to create a standardized Interpreter Certification and Qualification Program for the state. And finally, we suggest that ethnicity or country of origin as well as language preference be part of medical records.

In terms of economic development for South Carolina, the goal of raising living standards and reducing poverty will be challenging with a larger, low-income Latino population. This study finds that many Latinos in South Carolina, like Blacks, live near or below the poverty line (over one quarter). Many live in mobile homes and crowded, substandard housing. There is a definite Hispanic middle class as well. For most of the expanding Latino population, however, the challenges of settling in South Carolina are confounded by living in poverty and working in low-skill, low-wage employment. The 3.1 percent decline in real earnings for full-time South Carolina workers from 2000-2005 certainly must be a concern. Even so, all groups can benefits from a vigorous economy that adds high paying jobs as the labor force grows. South Carolina has seen a devastating loss of manufacturing employment since the 1990s, but it has also expanded in some sectors. In fact, two manufacturing sectors that added jobs since 2000--wood products and transportation equipment--had large increases in real wages. Thus, a sensible strategy for the state is to focus on attracting and retaining such high-paying industries. Then all segments of the state's population can potentially prosper, even with a larger pool of lower-skilled Hispanic labor.

Appendix I: Survey in Spanish

Time start: ☐☐:☐☐ Survey ID:☐☐☐ Surveyor ID: ☐☐

Survey

Hola, mi nombre es_____. Soy estudiante de la universidad de Carolina del Sur. Me gustaría hacerle algunas preguntas. Solo necesito quince minutos, no más. También quiero asegurarle que este es un estudio académico de Carolina del Sur y no tiene ninguna conexión con INS u otra agencia del gobierno. Toda la información es confidencial. Para agradecerle por su participación y tiempo, vamos a darle una tarjeta prepago de 10 dólares cuando completemos la entrevista. [Interviewer: Pause to permit the potential respondent to interrupt, but DO NOT ASK if s/he wants to complete the survey. After the pause, continue with question 1 below. For all questions, DO NOT READ the response categories unless instructed to do so. Response categories are provided to make it easier for you to record responses. Record all answers on this form.]

I. Las primeras preguntas tienen que ver con usted y su familia

1. Sexo ☐ Hombre ☐ Mujer (No pregunte, solo marque el sexo de la persona)
2. ¿Cuántos años tiene usted? _____
3. ¿Dónde nació _____
   Ciudad/ Población Estado País
4. ¿Cuál es su estado civil?:
   ☐ Soltero-a ☐ Casado-a ☐ Viudo-a ☐ Divorciado-a ☐ Unido-a
5. ¿Hace cuánto tiempo que llegó a los Estados Unidos? _____ (escriba la respuesta en días, meses o años)
6. ¿Hace cuánto tiempo que llegó a Carolina del Sur? _____
7. ¿Cuántos años de escuela terminó? _____ (Si la persona dice por ejemplo: "hasta secundaria" pregunte: ¿Cuántos años exactamente?)
8. ¿Ha estudiado desde que llegó a Carolina del Sur? ☐ Sí ☐ No
   Si la respuesta es Sí. ¿Dónde?_____
9. ¿Cómo es su inglés? _____
10. ¿Ha estudiado o está estudiando inglés en Carolina del Sur? ☐ Sí ☐ No
    Si la respuesta es Sí. ¿Dónde?_____

II. Las siguientes preguntas tienen que ver con su trabajo….

11. ¿Para quién trabaja usted (Nombre de la compañía)? _____
12. ¿Qué tipo de trabajo hace usted? _____
13. ¿Tiene negocio propio? ☐ Sí ☐ No
14. ¿Ha tenido alguna vez un negocio propio en SC? ☐ Sí ☐ No
15. ¿Ha tenido otro trabajo diferente desde que llegó a Carolina del Sur? ☐ Sí ☐ No
    Si la respuesta es Sí. ¿Qué tipo de trabajos?
    _____
16. ¿En general, cuánto gana por semana? $_____
17. ¿En general, cuántas semanas trabaja por año? _____
18. ¿En general, cuántos días a la semana trabaja? _____
19. ¿En general, cuántas horas al día trabaja? _____

20. ¿Ha recibido información en español acerca de riesgos en el trabajo? ☐ Sí ☐ No
21. ¿Se ha lesionado mientras estaba trabajando aquí en los EU? ☐ Sí ☐ **No (Pase a la pregunta 22)**

Si la respuesta es Sí.

a. ¿Dónde estaba trabajando? _____
b. ¿Cuál fue la causa del accidente? _____
c. ¿Le reportó usted la lesión a su supervisor en el trabajo? ☐ Sí ☐ No
d. ¿Le pagó su trabajo la cuenta médica por ese accidente? ☐ Sí ☐ No
e. ¿Dejó usted de ir a trabajar a causa del accidente? ☐ Sí ☐ No
f. Si la respuesta es Sí. ¿Su trabajo le cubrió alguna parte del salario que dejó de recibir debido al accidente? ☐ Sí ☐ No

III. Estas próximas preguntas tienen que ver con lo que usted gasta.

22. ¿Con qué frecuencia manda usted dinero a su país de origen?_____
23. ¿Cuánto dinero manda usted cada vez? $_____
24. Cuando envía dinero a su país....
    a. ¿Adónde lo manda? (pueblo y estado) _____
    b. ¿A quién le envía el dinero?
    ☐ Esposo-a ☐ Hijos ☐ Padres ☐ Otro. Especifique _____
25. ¿Despues de enviar el dinero a su país y pagar las cuentas, cuánto dinero guarda ud. en aquel (mes/semana....)? $_____
26. ¿Usted tiene una cuenta bancaria en Carolina del Sur? ☐ Sí ☐ No
    Si la respuesta es No. ¿Por qué no? _____
27. ¿Maneja usted o su esposo/a (compañero/a) automóvil en SC? ☐ Sí ☐ No
    Si respondió Sí. a. ¿Tiene seguro el automóvil? ☐ Sí ☐ No
    b. ¿Tiene esta persona licencia para conducir de SC? ☐ Sí ☐ No
    Si respondió No. a. ¿Qué hace usted para ir al mercado/trabajo?
    _____
    b. ¿Paga usted por "rides"? ☐ Sí ☐ No
    Si respondió Sí. ¿Cuánto paga? $ _____
    Comentarios: _____
    _____
    c. ¿Usa usted transporte público? ☐ Sí ☐ No
    Si respondió No. ¿Por qué no? _____

IV. Estas próximas preguntas tienen que ver con su casa.

28. ¿En qué tipo de casa vive?
    ☐ Apartamento ☐ Casa móvil (Trailer) ☐ Casa individual
    ☐ Otro. Especifique _____
29. ¿En qué ciudad o pueblo vive? _____
30. ¿☐ Tiene casa propia? ☐ Sí ☐ No
    a. Si respondió Sí. ¿Cuánto le costó la casa? $ _____
    b. Si respondió Sí. ¿Cuánto paga de impuesto por la casa al año? $ _____
31. ¿Paga renta? ☐ Sí ☐ No
    Si respondió Sí. ¿Cuánto paga **<u>usted</u>** de renta al mes? $_____

32. ¿Cuántos **adultos (de 19 años o más), incluyéndose usted**, viven en su casa?
_____

Por favor, cuénteme acerca de los **otros adultos** que viven en su casa:

Persona	Relación con usted (por ej. Esposo/a, primo, amigo)	Edad
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		

33. Tiene usted **hijos menores de 19 años**? ☐ Sí ☐ **No (Pase a la sección V)**
    a. **Si respondió Sí**. ¿Cuántos? _____
34. ¿Viven todos sus hijos **aquí con usted**?
    ☐ Sí **(por favor llene la tabla abajo)**
    ☐ No. a. ¿Cuántos **no viven** con usted? _____
    b. ¿Dónde viven? _____
    c. ¿Con quién? _____

Cuénteme acerca de **sus hijos que viven con usted**:

Niño/a	Edad	País de nacimiento	¿Cuánto tiempo lleva aquí en los EU?	Grado en la escuela	¿Habla Inglés?	¿Qué tan bien?
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						

35. ¿ Paga usted para que le cuiden el/los niño/s? ☐ Sí ☐ **No (Pase a la pregunta 36)**
    Si respondió Sí. a. ¿Cuánto? $_____ por semana
    b. ¿Quién cuida al/los niño/a/s?
    ☐ Un familiar
    ☐ Amiga o vecina
    ☐ Guardería privada
    ☐ Otro. Especifique:

V. Esta última parte trata del tema de la salud y otros servicios

36. ¿Cómo describiría usted **su salud** en estos momentos? _____
_____ _____
_____

37. Desde que llegó usted a los EEUU, diría usted que su salud ha:
    ☐ mejorado ☐ empeorado ☐ no ha cambiado
    Si ha empeorado: ¿Cómo ha empeorado su salud? _____

38. ¿**Usted o alguien de su familia** han utilizado servicios médicos en Carolina del Sur en este último año? ☐ Sí ☐ No

Si respondió Sí. (Si es más de una persona, anote a todos)

a. ¿Adónde fue (usted o el otro familiar)?_____
_____
_____
_____

b. ¿Cuál fue la razón? _____

39. ¿Cuando va al médico hay alguien allí que habla español (médico, enfermera)?
☐ Sí ☐ No ☐ Algunas veces
40. ¿Le traen un intérprete (alguien que traduce para usted)?
☐ Sí ☐ No ☐ Algunas veces
41. ¿Ha ido usted a su país de origen a recibir tratamiento médico? ☐ Sí ☐ No
Si respondió Sí. ¿Cuál fue la razón? _____
_____
42. ¿Tiene usted algún problema de salud por el que no está recibiendo tratamiento médico?
☐ Sí ☐ No
Si respondió Sí. ¿Cuál es el problema? _____
_____
43. ¿Cuánto dinero ha tenido que pagar por servicios médicos para usted o su familia en el último año? $_____
44. ¿Tiene usted cuentas médicas que aún está pagando? ☐ Sí ☐ No
Si respondió Sí. ¿Cuánto dinero debe? $_____
45. ¿Tiene algún tipo de seguro médico? ☐ Sí ☐ No
Si respondió Sí. ¿Cuál? _____
46. ¿Tiene usted un hijo/a con seguro médico o Medicaid? ☐ Sí ☐ No
Si respondió Sí. ¿Qué tipo de seguro médico? _____
_____
47. Si trabaja...
    a. ¿Alguna vez, su patrón le ha ofrecido un **seguro de salud** en los Estados Unidos? ☐ Sí ☐ No
    Si respondió Sí. ¿Lo tomó usted? ☐ Sí
    ☐ No. ¿Por qué no?
    b. ¿Alguna vez, su patrón le ha ofrecido otro tipo de beneficios? (por ej. Plan de retiro, seguro de vida) ☐ Sí ☐ No
    Si respondió Sí. ¿Lo tomó usted? ☐ Sí
    ☐ No. ¿Por qué no?

48. ¿Ha recibido usted estampillas de comida aqui en Carolina del Sur? ☐ Sí ☐ No
49. ¿Ha recibido algún programa de asistencia pública? (por ejemplo WIC)? ☐ Sí ☐ No
Si respondió Sí. ¿Cuál/es? _____
_____
_____
50. ¿Por cuánto tiempo piensa vivir en SC? _____
51. ¿Por cuánto tiempo piensa vivir en los EEUU? _____

Mil gracias por su participación! (Entregue la tarjeta prepago a la persona)

(Interviewer: Use the space below to record other information that you deem appropriate.)

Time end: ☐☐:☐☐

Appendix II. Hispanic Students Enrolled in South Carolina Public Schools

Hispanic Students Enrolled in South Carolina Public Schools by District 2006

District	Enrollment
Greenville	4,756
Beaufort	2,604
Spartanburg (1-7)	2,,111
Horry	1574
Lexington (1-5)	1,561
Charleston	1,464
Richland (1,2)	1,354
Berkeley	1,227
York (1-4)	1,179
Aiken	974
Anderson (1-5)	629
Oconee	599
Greenwood (50,51,52)	587
Dorchester (2,4)	555
Jasper	509
Newberry	457
Pickens	392
Florence (1-5)	347
Laurens (55,56)	307
Lancaster	306
Cherokee	300
Saluda	287
Sumter (2,17)	280
Kershaw	266
Georgetown	202
Chesterfield	196
Clarendon (1-3)	131
Dillon (1-3)	120
Orangeburg (3,4,5)	118
Darlington	113
Colleton	92
Edgefield	90
Marion (1,2,7)	76
Hampton (1,2)	63
Chester	55
Fairfield	42
Calhoun	41
Abbeville	41
Barnwell (19,29,45)	40
Allendale	37
Lee	36
Williamsburg	30
Marlboro	27
SC Department of Juvenile Justice	21
Union	20
Bamberg (1,2)	17
School for the Deaf and Blind	14
McCormick	2

Source: State Department of Education, 2007

Appendix III. Medicaid Hospital Visits, S.C. 2005

Information on Medicaid Latinos, African-Americans and Whites Having an ER Hospitalization in Calendar Year 2005

*Not Official Findings of SC DHHS -- Any Elements with a cell size fewer than five (5) are represented with a **

Table III: County of Residence

County Of Residence	Hispanics/Latinos			African-Americans			Whites		
	Visits	People	Amount Paid	Visits	People	Amount Paid	Visits	People	Amount Paid
Total	12569	7440	$1,010,992.60	195624	110377	$15,741,029.41	173828	89517	$14,120,824.38
Abbeville	12	7	$600.96	1482	826	$118,594.92	1184	677	$97,637.75
Aiken	415	253	$35,499.42	6731	3699	$544,468.70	8639	4215	$698,495.62
Allendale	21	8	$1,822.00	2528	1177	$193,200.03	218	106	$16,388.80
Anderson	219	135	$17,358.12	4299	2383	$344,452.02	9281	4933	$764,146.05
Bamberg	15	12	$1,054.00	1786	1029	$147,800.66	416	212	$34,382.43
Barnwell	17	14	$1,233.00	2104	1259	$164,112.23	1331	654	$107,019.21
Beaufort	1764	986	$139,491.08	6151	3307	$509,217.09	2117	1155	$179,393.69
Berkeley	290	176	$23,713.00	5633	3144	$460,195.73	6614	3570	$541,712.32
Calhoun	10	8	$807.00	901	526	$73,292.92	270	164	$22,471.28
Charleston	632	426	$50,107.77	17280	9767	$1,355,701.82	4758	2624	$385,836.96
Cherokee	79	49	$7,161.00	2306	1266	$185,506.17	4381	2246	$375,434.10
Chester	21	15	$1,547.00	2623	1503	$200,618.03	2048	1074	$159,860.18
Chesterfield	103	62	$9,152.00	3143	1674	$254,174.48	2959	1509	$246,363.99
Clarendon	120	70	$9,389.70	3311	1940	$246,108.55	1148	674	$89,517.10
Colleton	52	33	$3,953.80	3072	1887	$246,569.14	2206	1286	$176,211.38
Darlington	56	26	$4,613.00	3831	2291	$310,126.45	2930	1530	$239,864.01
Dillon	45	28	$3,487.00	2411	1472	$176,023.45	1637	938	$117,764.93
Dorchester	95	64	$7,773.06	3127	1932	$251,710.36	3426	1872	$279,496.22
Edgefield	42	27	$3,341.50	2085	1068	$164,833.49	1012	497	$79,903.56
Fairfield	29	12	$2,024.00	2299	1247	$183,478.69	641	338	$53,398.80
Florence	164	76	$14,466.00	10024	5570	$822,255.76	5374	2622	$448,430.22
Georgetown	71	49	$5,973.61	4411	2657	$358,563.58	2213	1207	$185,287.87
Greenville	2556	1537	$205,164.33	9879	5341	$802,236.52	17535	8732	$1,428,908.43
Greenwood	613	320	$44,323.83	4256	2227	$315,465.31	3281	1577	$245,354.69
Hampton	22	14	$1,539.00	2720	1490	$212,154.89	1175	534	$91,263.43
Horry	735	426	$59,755.00	8047	4234	$627,950.97	13758	7177	$1,095,342.49
Jasper	351	194	$30,117.06	1998	1168	$177,196.24	848	426	$75,313.61
Kershaw	76	51	$6,592.87	1921	1151	$167,971.55	2113	1261	$187,218.01
Lancaster	101	71	$8,049.00	3386	1865	$272,885.53	3817	1963	$315,662.18
Laurens	179	111	$12,800.00	3350	1772	$256,511.51	4884	2466	$374,012.80
Lee	31	20	$2,641.75	1806	1152	$149,182.55	451	253	$36,304.95
Lexington	519	313	$41,032.98	3461	2107	$292,155.57	7321	4094	$613,604.83
Marion	35	31	$2,447.87	4193	2393	$333,336.18	1501	824	$117,202.87
Marlboro	18	11	$1,314.00	2591	1434	$193,100.08	1628	803	$124,721.73
McCormick	*	*	*	692	407	$56,387.03	158	96	$12,868.37
Newberry	177	125	$14,299.00	1866	1177	$151,590.41	1226	700	$101,791.17
Oconee	233	153	$17,781.40	934	501	$72,787.20	5637	3044	$451,972.18
Orangeburg	88	58	$6,634.75	7662	4583	$634,018.31	2086	1203	$170,537.81
Pickens	305	157	$23,961.00	1142	618	$87,441.80	12216	5187	$953,893.17
Richland	415	268	$33,754.37	15871	9268	$1,345,279.35	2990	1625	$254,131.89
Saluda	142	103	$12,991.80	579	362	$46,876.41	297	200	$24,995.88
Spartanburg	1063	557	$87,290.50	10063	5176	$816,949.23	14559	6768	$1,199,972.33
Sumter	119	72	$10,279.47	7852	4598	$640,835.84	2484	1445	$208,047.78
Union	25	13	$2,517.85	1287	697	$105,064.11	2205	1115	$185,229.69
Williamsburg	26	10	$2,548.75	4385	2485	$345,671.50	812	452	$67,627.30
York	467	288	$38,534.00	4145	2547	$326,977.05	6042	3468	$485,715.32

Source: Office of Research and Statistics, SC Budget and Control Board

Latinos mean visits per person=1.69; African-Americans mean visits per person=1.77; Whites mean visits per person=1.94

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